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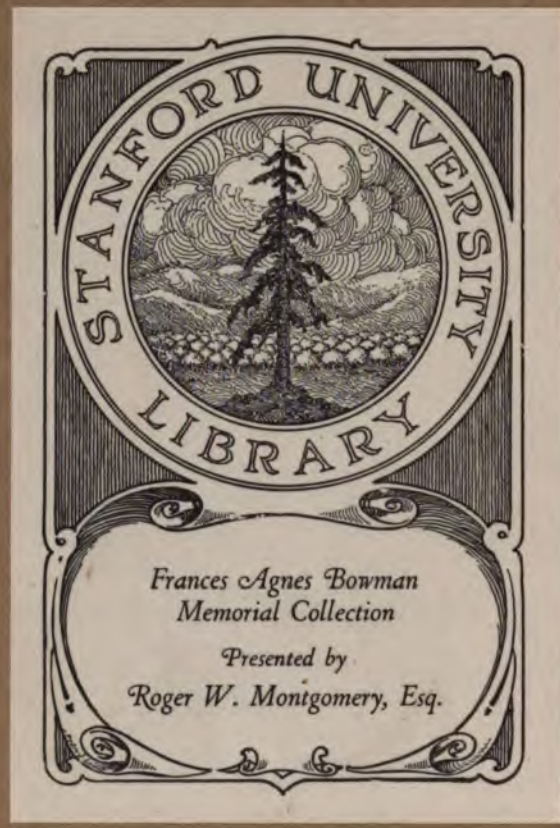
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ITS HISTORY, ARTS, AND LITERATURE

BY

CAPTAIN F. BRINKLEY

VOLUME VI

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JAPAN

ITS HISTORY ARTS AND LITERATURE

Chapter I

FESTIVALS

JAPAN is a country of festivals; "acts of worship" the people call them, and they certainly have their foundation in a religious observance, but so far as general revelry, feasting, and rejoicing are concerned, they present all the features of a fête, or even of a carnival. Annually or biennially the tutelary deities of a particular parish are taken out for an airing, and the whole of the parishioners participate in the picnic. That is the most accurate definition that can be briefly given of the *omatsuri*, to which Western writers have already devoted so many pages of description. The "worship of the deities" and the "administration of State affairs" used to be synonymous. Both were called *matsuri*, and both continued to be so called by the vulgar, though distinctive terms now find a place in the vocabulary of the literate. If, then, religious rites

performed by the sovereign within the precincts of the Palace insured the successful conduct of national business, the same principle prompted the people to invoke, by similar means, heaven's influence in the cause of household prosperity, industrial success, and individual happiness.

History does not indicate the origin of the idea that to carry the gods in triumphal procession was the most fitting form of popular devotion. But history does show that sackcloth and ashes were never credited with any attractions in the eyes of the supernatural powers, and that the Japanese, even in very early ages, judged the brighter aspects of life to be as pleasant to immortals as to mortals. That knowledge of the nation's mood is obtained incidentally and not very agreeably. Annalists tell, not of the glories of the *matsuri*, but of its abuses. As early as the eighth century, the spring and autumn festivals of the North Star had to be officially interdicted because of immoral licence on the part of the devotees, and a similar prohibition became necessary a hundred years later when the people's methods of asking for blessings had become so extravagant that there stood in every street in Kyōtō a "treasury" (*takara-gura*) decorated with pictures of the "Seven Gods of Fortune," and a pair of images before which incense was burned and flowers were offered amid circumstances sometimes that should have repelled rather than propitiated the deities. Indeed, any one visiting the great shrines

of Ise to-day will be surprised to find that Lais opens her doors to the pilgrim almost within sight of the sacred groves, and that to accept her invitation does not disqualify him in his own eyes, or in the eyes of any one else, for the subsequent achievement of his pious purpose. A single act of lustration restores his moral as well as his physical purity, and with such an easy remedy in sight the sins of the flesh seem only transiently hurtful. It is not to be supposed, however, that unsightly excesses are obtrusive features of the *matsuri*. On the contrary, they are for the most part conspicuous by their absence. History's mention of them notes the exception, not the rule, and is referred to here merely as indicating that the gala spirit presided at these festivals twelve or fifteen centuries ago just as prominently as it presides now.

The people enjoy and exercise all the freedom of hosts at these big picnics. Having duly provided for the deity, or deities, in whose honour the display is primarily organised, the parishioners consider themselves at liberty to entertain any other guests they please to summon from the realm of spirits or the region of allegory. For the accommodation of each principal and each accessory deity there is a sacred palanquin, a *mikoshi*. It is a shrine on wheels; a shrine covered with black lacquer, undecorated save that the insignia of the inmate are blazoned in gold on the panels of the doors, and that the ends of the pillars and

roof-tree are wrapped in finely chased and richly gilt copper. Before and behind the shrine stand *torii* of rose-red lacquer; a balustrade of the same colour encircles it, and on the roof perches a golden phœnix with outspread wings. The effigy of the deity is placed within this shrine in sacred seclusion, and to fifty men wearing sacerdotal vestments the duty of bearing the *mikoshi* is entrusted. But there is a difference in the people's treatment of their own special guests. These are not enclosed in the gloom of a shrine: they are mounted on high, overlooking the multitude of merry-makers and looked up to by them, and they ride each on a "car of gentle motion" (*nerimono* or *dashi*), a magnificent and colossal affair, its dimensions and gorgeousness affording a measure of the piety and prosperity of the parish. Described in simplest outline, the *dashi* is a rectangular wooden house mounted on a four-wheeled wagon. As for its details, they defy description. From sill to eaves it is a mass of elaborate carving and rich decoration. Brilliant brocades, portly silk tassels, snow-white *go-hei* and wreaths of gold-and-silver flowers fill the intervals between deeply chiselled diapers, flights of phœnixes, processions of tortoises, and lines of dragons. Immediately under the roof, and thus raised some fifteen feet above the street, a broad platform affords space for fifty or sixty people, and springing from pyramidal drapery at the centre of the artistically carved ridge-pole, a tapering

pillar of great height supports a canopied bracket for the figure of the sacred guest to whom the *dashi* is dedicated. It is impossible to convey in words any adequate idea of the grace of proportion and sobriety of grandeur sometimes attained in the construction and ornamentation of these cars. As for the guests whose effigies are thus carried aloft, they belong, for the most part, to the galaxy of national heroes or the catalogue of industrial and commercial symbols. Each parish naturally has its own particular pets and its own special obligations.

For example, the festival of Sano, one of Tōkyō's great biennial carnivals, is held in a year designated by the sign of the cock and the monkey in the two cycles. Hence there is a *dashi* for each of these zodiacal conceptions. There are also *dashi* for Benten, the goddess of matrimony; for Kasuga Riujin, the god of the sea; for Shizuka Gozen, the brave mother of Yoshitsune; for Kamo, the Kyōtō deity; for Tomyo Ichirai Hoshi, the renowned priest; for Kumasaka Chohan, the prince of mediæval burglars; for Jingo, the conquering empress; for the treasure-ship with its crew, the seven Gods of Fortune; for Ushiwaka and Sōjōbō, the young hero and his holy fencing-master; for a hammer and a weight; for a big saw; for a tea-whisk; for a whaling junk; for an axe and sickle, — symbols of the crafts, trades, and occupations most affected by the inhabitants of the districts through

which the procession winds its leisurely way on every alternate 15th of June (old calendar). The tutelary deities of the Sano district, when not taking part in these periodical picnics, inhabit a shrine on the summit of a profusely wooded hill approached by an avenue of cherry-trees and tended by Buddhist and *Shintō* priests in coöperation. But the effigies that ride on the *dashi*, and the *dashi* themselves are kept in the houses of leading citizens. Each car, each figure, each symbol, has its history, and every properly educated parishioner knows that history. He can tell how the finely modelled *kan-ko-dori* (cock on drum), kept in Odemma-cho, has five-hued plumage, whereas the Kanda cock is pure white; how the monkey, which ought to take precedence of the cock if the order of the terrestrial and celestial cycles were strictly observed, was obliged, by edict of the *Shōgun*, to cede the *pas* to its bright-feathered companion; how two lifelike monkeys, a male and a female, emerge alternately from their retreat in Koji-machi to take their places in the procession, but how neither can compare with the wonderful monkey of Minamitemma-cho, modelled in the old days by that peer of puppet-makers, Hyoshi Washihei, of which, alas! only the nose and eyes now remain, but which has a not greatly inferior successor, the work of Kakumuro Eiga; how in Koji-machi there is also preserved a monster elephant, fashioned three and a half centuries

ago by a Korean craftsman, and how it used once to be a prominent object in the procession, three men within each leg, and a band of musicians in Korean costume preceding it. The genuine Tōkyō man — the *Yedokko*, or child of Yedo, as he loves to call himself — and the orthodox citizen of aristocratic Kyōtō have a thousand traditions to relate about these festivals, a thousand respectful tales to tell about their paraphernalia, and each city regards them as the red-letter day of its chronicles. It does not fall to the lot of many Occidentals to see one of the great fêtes, and, indeed, their glory, like the glory of so many of Japan's old institutions, is rapidly passing away. Here, then, may be set down the order of the Sano procession: —

Two large and two small *hata* (strips of white cotton cloth, from one and a half to two feet wide and from ten to thirty feet long, fastened, sail-wise, to bamboo poles and having the names of the tutelary deities inscribed in immense ideographs).

A halberdier and a spear-bearer.

Two big drums carried by eleven men.

Two men with *hyoshi-gi* (wooden blocks for striking together).

Two flautists.

A Dog of Fo (*Shishi no Kashira*) borne by twenty-four men.

A *Shintō* priest on horseback.

Three gigantic spears borne by thirty-two men.

A *Shintō* priest on horseback.

The sacred horses of the principal deities.

The sacred sword.

Three *Shintō* priests on horseback.
Attendants on the shrine.
Mounted priests.
Two musicians with *Tengu* (mountain genii) masks.
Sacred Palanquin, borne by fifty men.
The deity's rice-box; two bearers.
The deity's banquet-table; six bearers.
Shintō priest on horseback.
Attendants on the shrine.
Thirty leading citizens in ceremonial costume.
Thirty inferior *Shintō* priests in sacerdotal costume.
Two bearers of *go-hei.*
Girl child richly apparelled, riding in palanquin.
Two men with *hyoshi-gi.*
Sacred Palanquin, borne by fifty men.
The deity's rice-box, borne by three men.
The deity's table, borne by eight men.
Attendants on the shrine.
Mounted priest.
Thirty inferior priests in sacerdotal costume.
Two bearers of *go-hei.*
Girl child, richly apparelled, in palanquin.
Three men with *hyoshi-gi.*
Sacred Palanquin, borne by fifty men.
The deity's rice-box, borne by two men.
The deity's table borne by six men.
Mounted *Shintō* priest.
Ten Buddhist priests in armour, on horseback.
The Lord High Abbot, in canonicals, in a palanquin.
The deity's four-doored palanquin.
The deity's ox-carriage.
Glaivesmen and spearmen.

The *dashi*, each drawn by from three to six black oxen with red and white trappings, and by an indefinite multitude of men, quaintly costumed and chaunting as they pull; and each having on its platform from thirty

to sixty professional musicians, dancers, and actors, dressed in rich costumes, and posturing, dancing, and singing to accompaniment of flute and drum whenever the *dashi* halts.

Such is the organisation of the parish picnic. The "gently going cars" move with the utmost deliberation, pausing here and there while the drums beat, the flutes play, and the dancers dance, so that the intervals of rest are filled with the sounds of music and with the applause of merry crowds; the intervals of motion, with the swelling chaunt of the *dashi*-drawers. A hundred and sixty streets constitute the Sano parish. They contribute, for the purposes of the procession, forty-five bands, each of fifty youths, chosen by lot. Two days before the festival, the citizens begin to prepare their houses. The view-places on the roofs are fitted up; the lintels are draped; the mats are overspread with whatever of gay covering the family possesses; a background of glowing richness is made by ranging gold-foil screens in all rooms opening upon the street, and from the eaves as well as from poles along the route, red-and-white paper lanterns are suspended. It is a time of general feasting. The householder violates hospitality's fundamental principles if he fails to invite his friends from the less favoured quarters of the city, and every father takes care that his unmarried daughters shall be dressed in the costliest and most picturesque garments within reach of his purse. From first to last

there is no note of asceticism to disturb the glad harmony. For one day, indeed, — the day before the procession, — the parishioners are supposed to fast, but since their fasting is limited to avoiding meat and vegetables of the onion family, which things are regarded as impure, the flesh is not perceptibly mortified.

Even more important and elaborate is the Kanda festival, which absorbs Tōkyō's attention during a great part of the ninth month in the alternate years of the Sano celebration. Long before the fête, preparations are busily commenced, — lanterns hung out; *nobori*[1] raised; casks of *saké* and boxes of macaroni piled up to feast the folks in the procession, and all the great *modistes* and *coiffeurs* of the capital engage in contriving for the daughters of their customers costumes and headdresses that shall eclipse records and rivals alike. In nothing is Tōkyō more recklessly extravagant than in the sums it lavishes for its daughters' adornment on these grand occasions. A tradesman does not exceed the sanction of custom when he spends a tenth part of his annual income on the dress of one little daughter. The Sano festival inspires similar but less costly effort, for the deities' outing lasts only one day, whereas in the Kanda parish the sacred palanquins and the *dashi* are three days *en route*. A special feature of the Kanda *matsuri* is a band of *danseuses* (*geisha*) who follow the *dashi*, and, from time to

[1] See Appendix, note 1.

time, give displays of their skill. They are called *tekomai*, the name of an ancient dance, consisting chiefly of graceful hand-waving. In the course of centuries, performers as well as performance have come to be designated by the same term. These dainty little lasses do not robe themselves for the purposes of the festival in the delicately hued garments and glowing girdles with which they know so well how to enhance the lamplight effect of their charms. They dress in the small-sleeved tunic, tight-legged trousers, and narrow cincture of the common workman (*shigoto-shi*), and it is their coy fancy to ape the sombre hue as well as the ungraceful shape of that low fellow's habiliments. But beyond the bounds of cut and colour their feminine instinct rises in vehement rebellion. The tunic and the girdle become meadow-lands of embroidered bloom and verdure; things of costly loveliness to be cheered by the delighted crowd, applauded in private by the Don Juans of the district, and discussed despairingly by chagrined rivals. There is a hidden significance in the presence of the arch and innocent-looking *tekomai*. It is a lover that pays for her elaborate and most ephemeral costume; it is a lover that cuts off her raven tresses, — for even to queue and top-knot the masculine mode is affected, — and it is a lover that defrays the charges of her idle life and the fees of her employers until her hair grows again to evening-party length. So, while she seems to proclaim

her religious devotion, she in reality parades her professional successes.

In describing these festivals, no lengthy mention has been made of the special deities worshipped. The omission is appropriate, for, as the reader has of course perceived, the religious element constitutes but an insignificant fraction of the fête in Japan. Sanò and Kanda both revere Oana-muchi and Sukunahikona, immortal descendants of the Sun Goddess, and look for prosperity and happiness as the guerdon of these splendid *matsuri*. But another spirit is included among the objects of worship at the Kanda ceremonial, — the spirit of Taira-no-Masakado. This is a name heinously conspicuous in Japanese history as the name of the only subject whose hand was ever raised in open rebellion against his sovereign. Masakado's brief career of madness belongs to the annals of the tenth century. He fell doing battle with Taira-no-Sadamori on the plains of Shimosa, and his head was carried to Kanda for burial. Of such a hero is the effigy enshrined, with every mark of honour, among the divine niches at the Kanda festival. Mention has been made above of the fact that one of the tutelary ghosts in the Sano parish is Kumasaka Chohan, a burglar of mediæval notoriety. It may well be asked what kind of people they are that pay divine honours to the memory of arch traitors and villanous malefactors. The question has been thrust upon foreign attention of late

years. Early on the morning of February 11, 1889, the Minister of Education, Viscount Mori, one of modern Japan's most enlightened statesmen, was about to leave his residence for the purpose of proceeding to the Palace, when a youth of twenty-five stabbed him fatally with a kitchen knife. Scarcely had the assassin been consigned to the grave when the citizens of Tōkyō began to pay visits to his tomb. Tradesmen, artisans, but, above all, actors, wrestlers, dancing-girls, fencing-masters, and youthful politicians, flocked thither, so that every day a new forest of incense-sticks smoked and a fresh garden of flowers bloomed before the sepulchre. Foreign observers of the strange pageant stood aghast. Was it conceivable, they inquired, that civilised people should worship at the tomb of a murderer and pay homage to the memory of an assassin? It seemed, on the one hand, as though the masses of Japan hid savage instincts beneath a surface of courtesy and refinement; on the other, as though a government that permitted such demoralising displays must be very feeble, and a nation that fêted the murderer of a minister, very disaffected. All such constructions and inferences were based on ignorance of Japanese character. The pilgrims to Nishino's tomb obeyed the same principle that assigns a niche in the Kanda Shrine to the image of a great rebel and a place in the Sano procession to the effigy of a notorious robber. Daring and prowess, in whatever forms

displayed, are dear to the Japanese. The act of Nishino Buntaro appealed strongly to their sense of the picturesque. An educated youth, who had hitherto led an unobtrusive, decorous, and law-abiding life, without political friends, without resources other than those possessed by the humblest subject, made his way into the residence of a prominent Minister of State at a moment when the inmates were all on the alert, when the whole city was *en fête*, when the streets were crowded with soldiers and policemen, and, in obedience to an instinct of reverential patriotism, struck down the great man with the weapon of a common scullion, within sight of armed guards and at the very moment when the Minister, dressed in full uniform, his breast glittering with orders, was about to take a leading place in the Imperial Palace among a body of statesmen associated for a purpose that was destined to make them famous as long as their country had a history. It is scarcely possible to imagine a more striking contrast between instrument and achievement. What did this object lesson teach to the average Japanese? Not that assassination is admirable or bloodshed praiseworthy, but that weakness, insignificance, and friendlessness constitute no effective barriers to signal success if they be retrieved by daring, resolution, and self-reliance. It is to be endowed with a measure of the spirit of Nishino, Masakado, and Kumasaka that the Japanese prays when he worships at the tomb of

a murderer and makes offerings at the shrine of a rebel or a robber. One may "abhor the sin without hating the sinner," "loathe the priest yet love the stole." These subtle distinctions might not receive ready recognition from a Madison Square pugilist or an Alhambra ballet-girl, but tradition has taught them to the wrestler of Ekoin[1] and the *geisha* of Yanagi-bashi.[2] If the Government held up a finger, the pilgrimages to Nishino's grave would cease; if the Emperor made a gesture of dissent, the image of a rebellious subject would not be carried in triumphal procession past the Palace gates. But the real significance of these demonstrations is not mistaken in Japan.

Greater than either the Sano festival or the Kanda festival is the *Gion-matsuri* in Kyōtō, the greatest, indeed, of all such celebrations in Japan. Like the Tōkyō fêtes, however, it consists essentially of a magnificent procession. The difference is in the nature of the objects of worship. Prominent among these is a halberd forged by the celebrated swordsmith Sanjo Munechika. It is supposed to be endowed with the virtue that once belonged to a king's touch in Europe: raised reverentially to the head, it cures the ague. This blessed blade has the honour of riding, a hundred feet high, on a resplendent *dashi*, at the head of a line of twenty-three cars bearing effigies of celebrated scholars, of Chinese philosophers, of the

[1] See Appendix, note 2.

[2] See Appendix, note 3.

moon, of a mantis, and of a "flower-thief." Mencius rides side by side with a lass that pilfers blossoms, but is not insulted by the companionship, for nature alone suffers by the theft. A conspicuous object in the Gion procession is the chief *danseuse*, a girl of twelve or thirteen who dances on a dais in the centre of the halberd *dashi*. Nothing that Kyōtō can contribute of beautiful or costly is neglected in decking out this damsel for the fête. On either side of her another virgin postures in unison, but the little lady in the middle is the goddess of the hour, the queen of the summer festival. Her reign does not end when the deities, the savants, and the symbols have been reconsigned to their twelve months' seclusion in shrines and storehouses. It is then, indeed, that her triumph reaches its acme, for a procession is formed all on her own account. At the head march five *samurai*, in the old-time uniform of their rank; then comes a glaivesman; then two bearers of gorgeously lacquered boxes, the wardrobes of the little dame; then her palanquin, glowing with bright colours and sparkling ornaments, carried by four lads in correspondingly rich costume and flanked by the chief local officials as well as by the two companion virgins, objects almost as brilliant as the queen herself. Over the palanquin is carried a monster umbrella with handle and ribs of rose-red lacquer, cherry-blossoms and the ideograph for longevity blazoned on its surface, and a tasselled bag of brocade con-

taining a Gion amulet suspended under its shelter. Two more wardrobe-bearers follow, and porters of umbrellas in baskets and of gold-lacquered luncheon-boxes bring up the rear. At the portals of the temple of Gion, a draught of holy wine (*miki*) and a "blessed amulet" (*shimpu*) are given to the virgin, whereupon she ceases to be a mere "young thing" (*chigo*) and becomes a "sacred child" (*suiko*). The tediousness of these details will serve, perhaps, to convey to the reader some faint idea of the elaborate code of conventionalities that has to be consulted at each point of such ceremonials. Everything is provided for by tradition; and every proviso must be observed.

If these huge metropolitan festivals show the general attitude of the national mind towards supernatural subjects, the smaller celebrations afford a still more accurate insight into the superstitions and daily ambitions of the people. Sometime in the Middle Ages, a great eagle made its appearance at Ajiki in the province of Shimosa, which lies on the eastern shores of Yedo Bay. The eagle, of course, typifies everything that is majestically aggressive and tenaciously acquisitive. It thus becomes to the Japanese a symbol of good fortune. The Shimosa people built a shrine in honour of their visitor, and covered the walls with votive tablets, depicting an eagle bestrid by a man in official robes — "a commoner rising to rank and office by the aid of wings that soar and talons that capture." By-and-by the capi-

tal of the Tokugawa grew so big that it drew to itself whatever was notable in the neighbouring provinces. The eagle's shrine found its way to the suburbs of the metropolis, and in the Shitaya district, within sight of the Paphian quarter, became a place of pilgrimage for every one craving the gifts of fortune, — for the wrestler, the courtesan, the actor, the dancing-girl, the jester, the *raconteur*, the musician, the tradesman, and the apprentice. Nothing that can be called a ceremony is associated with the eagle's fête, — the *Tori-no Machi* (abbreviation of *matsuri*), or worship of the bird, as the people call it. Only on the "bird days" in November — perhaps two days, perhaps three if the calendar is kind — tens of thousands of people flock out to this shrine among the rice-fields, and, after a brief act of worship, purchase harbingers of luck in the shape of big rakes, parent potatoes, millet dumplings, and bamboo tea-whisks. Stalls for the sale of these homely articles occupy all available spaces within the temple enclosure and along the avenues leading to the gate, and as the etiquette of the eagle requires that there shall be no bargaining — when did the great bird stop to discuss the preliminaries of a capture? — the hucksters drive a roaring trade, especially at the close of the day when their wares are nearly sold out and belated worshippers see a risk of returning empty-handed. The rake, as part of the paraphernalia of a pursuer of gain, explains itself. But there is

a strange feature about these eagle rakes. Their teeth are said to be made from the wood of coffins. At cremations, if economy has to be practised, the corpse is removed from its casket and exposed to the direct action of the flames. The casket then becomes the property of the crematory and is purchased by the rake-makers. There is no explanation of such a singular custom, nor any evidence that it is observed on principle. The parent potato typifies humble ambition. Buried underground and growing in oblivion, it is, at all events, the head of a family. "Better be the comb of a cock than the tail of an ox." Millet dumplings are associated with the orthodox group of lucky articles by a play upon words. To "clutch millet with wet hands" is a popular metaphor for greed. *Mochi*, which signifies a dumpling, signifies also "to hold." Thus "millet dumpling" becomes a metaphor for grasping largely and holding firmly. The strength of the people's faith in these pilgrimages, prayers, and purchases is evidenced by the crowd that the city pours out to the *Tori-no Machi* every fall, and by the eager happiness of the worshippers' mien. But if any members of the upper classes go, it is only to look and to laugh.

In the festivals thus far described there is nothing that suggests any affinity between the religious rites of Japan and those of ancient Europe. But a point of marked similarity is now reached. Just as the fire of Hestia was kept perpetually

burning in the Grecian prytaneum two thousand years ago, so at the national shrines in Izumo and Ise there are stone lanterns in which the flame is said to have glowed uninterruptedly since the age of the gods. If that be so, it is a flame twenty-five centuries old. The origin of the fire-guarding cult is now so well understood, and its practice has been traced to so many races, that to find it in Japan also is neither surprising nor specially significant. But, as might have been anticipated, some of the rites connected with it reflect the peculiar genius of the Japanese. In Kyōtō, on the last evening of the year, when the street leading to the temple of Gion is converted into a market for the sale of New Year's decorations, and is crowded with people of all degrees, men go about carrying short hempen ropes with one end burning. These they swing around their heads, and it is the privilege of any person struck by a rope to revile the bearer without stint. The Japanese language is not furnished with curses after the pattern of Occidental blasphemies, but it lends itself to the construction of very pregnant invective, and no one that has waited in Gion-machi to see the death of the old year, can labour under any doubt of the Kyōtō people's capacity for objurgation. But it is all perfectly good-humoured; a mutual measuring of abusive vocabularies. Meanwhile a big bonfire burns within the precincts of the shrine. It has been kindled from a year-old flame tended in a lamp

hanging under the eaves of the sacred building, and people come there to light a taper which, burning before the household altar, shall be the beacon of domestic prosperity. As the night wears on, the crowds gradually flow into the temple grounds, and there, at the "hour of the tiger" (2 A. M.), the "Festival of the Pine Shavings" take place. A *Shintō* priest reads a ritual. His colleagues obtain a spark by the friction of two pieces of wood, and set fire to a quantity of shavings packed into a large iron lamp. These charred fragments of pine wood the worshippers receive, and carry away as amulets to protect their possessors against plague and pestilence.

In provincial districts the religious festival sometimes presents very quaint features. On the first "day of the horse" in the month of April, there is performed, at the *Tsukuma Matsuri* in Omi province, a manner of worship intended to promote wifely fidelity. Wives and widows are marshalled in procession, each carrying upon her head as many earthenware pots as she has had husbands. In Japan a woman's glory is to marry once, and if her husband dies, to remain always faithful to his memory. It must be confessed that among the lower orders the ideal is seldom attained. Marriage, not being preceded in their case by courtship or by any opportunity of ascertaining mutual compatibility of disposition, is often followed by separation. Upon the woman rests the responsibility for such accidents, since the

theory of conjugal life is that the wife must adapt herself to the husband, not the husband to the wife. Thus to have been divorced frequently, while it does not by any means imply marital infidelity, is held to indicate some want of self-abnegation or moral pliability on the woman's part. It might be supposed that the Omi dames would shirk the obligation of parading their conjugal records in public. But a belief that the goddess whom they worship will punish insincerity prompts them to carry their proper tale of pots without scamping the number. There is, indeed, a tradition that a certain crafty woman once had recourse to the device of hiding in a big pot that represented her last husband several little pots that represented his precessors. But judgment overtook her. She stumbled as she walked in the procession, and the big pot falling from her head displayed its contents to public gaze and to her lasting shame.

An even stranger celebration takes place on the first "day of the hare," in the tenth month, at Wasa, in the province of Kishu. It is called the "laughing festival of Wasa" (*Wasa no Warai-matsuri*). There is a belief that in the tenth month of every year all the deities repair to the great shrines of Ise in Izumo, and there hold a conclave for the purpose of arranging the nuptial affairs of the nation. The month is called the "god-less moon" (*Kami-no-zuki*) for all parts of the country except Izumo, whereas, on the con-

trary, it is distinguished as the "moon of the gods' presence" (*Kami-ari-zuki*) by the inhabitants of Izumo. The legend has lost much of its old force, but it still commands the venerable faith of conservative rustics, and many a farmer in Izumo carefully locks the door of his dwelling at sunset and refrains from venturing abroad before dawn during the period of the deities' assembly at Ise. It happened that when this divine parliament was first convened, one ill-starred deity, Miawa Daimyo-jin, mistook the date or otherwise mismanaged affairs so that the debate had terminated before he reached Ise. The laughing festival is intended to commemorate that accident. Instead of sympathising with the belated god, the people assemble to laugh at him, as the other deities are supposed to have laughed when he presented himself to take part in a finished discussion. The fashion of the festival is as quaint as its conception. All the oldest men in the district and all the children come together and form a procession for marching to the shrine. The elders head the array, carrying two boxes of fixed capacity, filled with persimmons and oranges spitted on bamboo rods. The children follow, grouped round a *go-hei* and holding in their hands oranges and persimmons similarly spitted. These preliminaries as well as the progress to the shrine are conducted with the utmost solemnity. Arrived at the shrine, the grayest among the elders turns about to face the little ones and orders them to laugh. There is

never any failure to obey, and from the children the contagion spreads to the adult population until the whole district ripples with merriment from morning till evening. It is a graceful notion that the deities desire the people to share their mirth as well as to pray for their tutelage.

Several provincial festivals have gradually assumed the character of athletic competitions. At the top of a mountain called Kimpo-zan, in Ugo province, stands the shrine of *Ha-ushi-wake*. On the fifth day of the first month all the robust men of the district, to the number of several thousands, ascend the mountain and pass the night in a snow-cave some two furlongs from the summit. At that season the snow lies ten feet deep on Kimpo-zan. To reach the cave is in itself an arduous undertaking. When the first streak of dawn is seen in the sky, the youngest and strongest of the band of worshippers start from the cave. Stripped to their loin-cloths, they race in phrensied emulation over the snow and up the steep cliffs, the first to reach the shrine being assured of the deity's protection throughout the year and of his comrades' profound admiration. This race does not end the fête. All the competitors crowd into the precincts of the shrine and engage in a bout of general wrestling. They do not attempt to hurl each other to the ground after the manner of Western wrestlers, but only to thrust one another from the enclosure. By degrees the remaining

occupants of the cave join the mêlée, the rule observed by each new-comer being to aid the weak and beat back the strong. It may be imagined that from a mad contest in which four or five thousand strong men engage, struggling desperately in the snow and among the rocks on the summit of a lofty mountain in midwinter, many must emerge with serious injuries. But tradition affirms that no one has ever been known to receive a disabling hurt. The deity, they say, protects his devotees. The truth is that in competitions of such a nature the Japanese maintain from first to last the most imperturbable good-humour. Any one losing his temper would be ridiculed for months. After the wrestling is over, and when each man has given stalwart proof of the earnestness of his faith, they all join in one band and march down the mountain singing.

At Ono-machi in Bingo the people worship Susa-no-o, the rough deity, whose unruly conduct terrified his sister the Sun Goddess so much that she retired into a cave. The festival in honour of the god takes place in the sixth month, and is of such a nature as "the impetuous male deity" himself might be supposed to organise if he gave any thought to the question. There is no stately procession, no display of gorgeous *dashi*, no dancing of brilliantly robed damsels. The whole affair consists of a tumultuous trial of speed and strength. Bands of strong men seize the sacred cars, race with them to the sea, and, having

plunged in breast deep, their burden held aloft, dash back at full speed to the shrine. There refreshment, wine, fish, and a box of rice are served out, and then again, the race is resumed, the goal being the central flag (*nobori*) among a number set up in a large plain. To this contest the bearers of the cars devote themselves with as much zeal as though they were fighting for their lives. Hundreds run beside each car ready to replace any bearer that is thrown down or exhausted; their feet beat time to a wildly shouted chorus, and as they sweep along, apparently unconscious of everything but their goal, and wholly reckless of obstacles or collisions, it seems incredible that fatal accidents should not occur again and again. Yet no sooner is the struggle ended, than these men who, a moment before, appeared ready to trample upon each other's corpses, may be seen seated in tea-houses, chatting, laughing, circulating the wine-cup, and behaving as if such an incident as a desperate struggle for the favour of the deity had never interrupted the even tenor of their placid existences.

At other fêtes the worshippers seek to gain possession of some sacred object supposed to insure exceptional good fortune to the holder. Five hundred years ago, a merchant's apprentice walking by the seaside near Hakozaki in Chikuzen, found two perfectly spherical balls of wood which had been cast upon the shore by the waves. The shrine of the "god of war" (*Hachiman*) at

Hakozaki is celebrated in Japanese history. Supplications offered there at the time when the great Mongol armada swept down upon Japan in the thirteenth century, are supposed to have produced the storm that shattered the enemy's fleet and strewed the coast of Kiushiu with his dead. It is a place of miracles. A crystal ball is one of the three sacred insignia of Japan. It also symbolises the pearl of great price, held in the claws of the sea god's dragon. Hence two perfect spheres of finely grained wood cast upon the beach at Hakozaki necessarily suggested supernatural agency. Their finder carried them to the Hakozaki shrine, and reverentially entrusted them to the custody of the priests, having first washed them carefully in holy water taken from the granite cistern at the adjacent fane of Ebisu. From that time the young apprentice seemed to become the favourite of fortune. Ebisu, the jovial-faced fisher deity, who provides for men's daily sustenance, had evidently taken the youth under his protection. Whenever the third day of the first month came round, — the anniversary of the finding of the balls, — the apprentice, soon a thriving merchant, did not fail to repair to the temple. Taking the sacred spheres thence, he would carry them to the shrine of Ebisu, wash them in the holy water, anoint them with clove-oil, and bear them back to their place in the temple. When and how this custom was elevated to the rank of a religious rite, there is no

record, but within less than a century and a half from the finding of the balls, a "jewel-grasping festival" came to be celebrated at Hakozaki on the third day of every first month. It took the form of a gigantic scramble. The priests, having carried the ball — now, by some unexplained process, transformed into a single sphere of hard stone — to the shrine of Ebisu, and having washed it and read a ritual, delivered it to the crowd of worshippers for conveyance to the temple of Hachiman. Whatever hands held it at the moment of final transfer to the temple, were the hands of a person destined to high fortune. Not the province of Chikuzen alone, but all the northern districts of Kiushiu and the regions on the opposite coast of the Inland Sea, sent their strong men to take part in the struggle. The distance between the fane of Ebisu and the temple of Hachiman is only a few yards, yet hours were spent in the passage of the "jewel" from one place to the other. Naked, except for a loincloth, thousands of men struggled in the narrow enclosure until sheer exhaustion gradually thinned their ranks and left space for the most enduring to win a path, inch by inch, to the temple. Almost the same description applies to a much more celebrated fête held within the precincts of the temple of Kwannon, the goddess of mercy, at Saidai-ji in Bizen province, on the fourteenth day of the first month. There the scramble is for pieces of wood thrown by the priests to a

multitude of devotees. No supernatural tradition attaches to these amulets. They have their origin in a simple exercise of benevolence. In the middle era of the temple's existence (the beginning of the sixteenth century) the priests made a practice of presenting gifts to such of their parishioners as had shown special zeal during the New Year's devotional exercises, which lasted from the 1st to the 14th of the first month. By degrees the number of worshippers eligible for such distinction grew so large that some method of special selection became necessary, and recourse was had to lots. The exciting element of chance thus introduced helped, of course, to swell the concourse of devotees, and finally a clever abbot, probably borrowing the idea from the "jewel-grasping festival" of Hakozaki, devised the plan of leaving the people to settle their own eligibility by an athletic contest. The little town lying at the temple's feet contains only two thousand inhabitants in ordinary times, but at the festival season the population grows to fifty or sixty thousand, and a moralist might find food for reflection in the fact that the services of steamships and railways are borrowed to convey this stream of worshippers and sightseers to an observance so suggestive of the rudest ages. At ten o'clock on the night of the 14th of the first month (8th of February according to the present calendar) the Saidai-ji drum beats the signal, and the first band of intending competitors run at full

speed through the temple ground, plunge into the river below, and having thus purified themselves, return to the sacred enclosure by a different route. A second time the drum sounds at midnight, and fresh crowds of combatants pour through the temple grounds. In truth, from the first tap of the drum until its final note is heard at 2 A.M., streams of stalwart men never cease to surge between the temple and the river, their feet beating time to a chorus of *esa*, *esa*, the echoes of which can be heard on the opposite coast, twenty-five miles distant, "like the roar of surf breaking on rocks." Exactly at two o'clock the "divine wood" (*shingi*), a little cylinder of fresh pine, specially marked, is thrown from the temple window to the surging crowd, and a fierce struggle commences for its possession. One prize for some ten thousand competitors would be too meagre an arrangement. The *shingi* is therefore accompanied by hundreds of similar but smaller tokens (*kushigo*), which ensure fertility to farm-lands where they are set up, and health to the farmer's family. But the *shingi* itself is the great prize. The competition for its possession is not confined to the actual combatants. Wealthy households also vie with one another to obtain it, each setting out in the vestibule a box of fresh sand whither the divine wood must be carried before the contest is considered at an end. Thus the struggle extends to the streets of the town itself, and long after the *shingi's* fate has

been decided, the army of naked men wrestle and shout within the temple enclosure, the breath of the wild struggle hanging over them like a cloud in the frosty moonlight.

> "Up, like spring's haze, the breath-mists creep,
> The wintry hills smile in their sleep." [1]

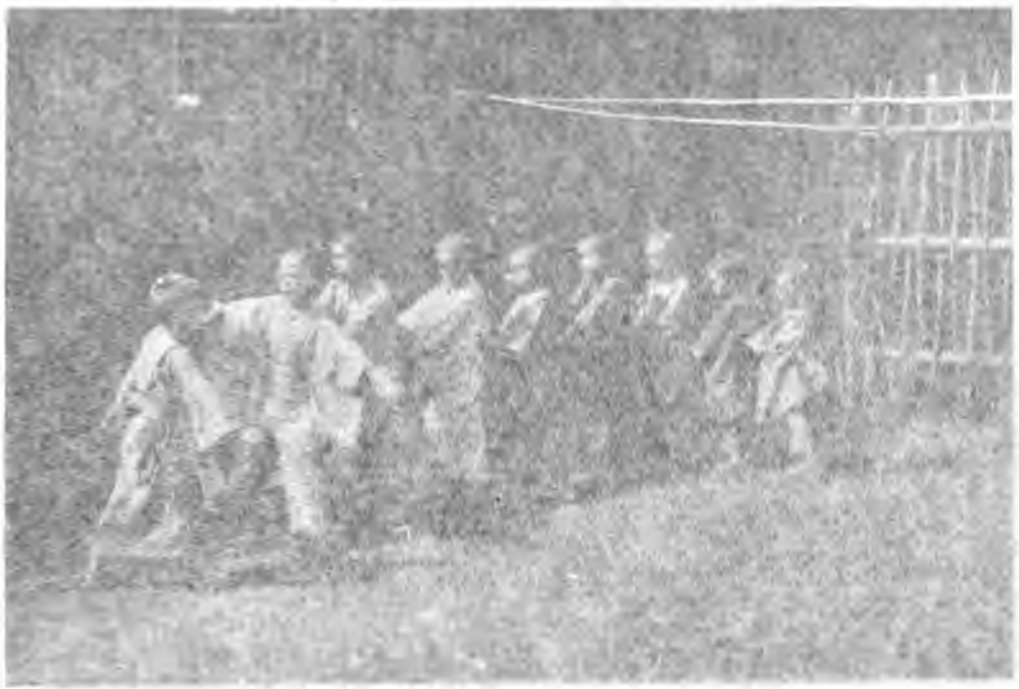
It is easy to see that the upper classes take no active part in celebrations such as those described above. The religious festival in Japan owes its vitality to superstitions prevalent among the middle and lower orders only.

[1] See Appendix, note 4.

Chapter II

OBSERVANCES AND PASTIMES

EVERY family has rules and methods of its own which it follows with regularity directly proportionate to their age. The members of a household newly franked with the stamp of gentility, look abroad for models of fashion and deportment, but the members of a household that has enjoyed pride of place through immemorial generations, enact their own canons, and obey them with scrupulosity that grows with obedience. For two thousand years, more or less, the Japanese nation lived the life of an independent and virtually secluded family, borrowing largely, indeed, from the conventions and precedents of its over-sea neighbours, but impressing upon everything foreign the mark of home genius, so that, though the metal remained alien, the coins struck from it bore domestic images and superscriptions. Little by little, the doings of the day, the etiquette of the season, the observances of the month, and the celebrations of the year were coded by custom and promulgated by practice, until the people



finally found themselves subjects of a system of conventionalities, pleasant, graceful, and refined, but inflexible. Nowhere else can be seen grooves of routine beaten so deeply by the tread of centuries; nowhere else does the light of old times, the *veteris vestigia flammæ*, shine so steadily on the paths of usage. These customs may be examined one by one, and taken thus independently, they present generally very pretty and often very quaint studies. But to appreciate their relation to the life of the nation, one must follow the nation in its observance of them from New Year's day to New Year's eve.

According to the calendar of old Japan, the commencement of the year varied from what Western folks call the 16th of January to the 19th of February, but, on the average, it may be said to have fallen a full month later than the day fixed by the Gregorian method of reckoning. It was thus associated with an idea of spring foreign to the corresponding season in Europe and America. In fact, the first fortnight of the first month was called "spring-advent" (*ris-shun*); the second fortnight, the "rains" (*u-sui*). That old idea still clings to the time, even under the altered conditions of the new calendar, and people still persuade themselves that spring has dawned when the first January sun rises, though neither the plum nor the snow-parting plant (*yuki-wari-so*) — each a harbinger of spring in Japan — is within a month

of opening its buds. To see the New Year in is considered a wholesome custom, but it involves something more than it does in the West, for, after greeting the stranger, folks remain up to welcome him. Let a man's enthusiasm be ever so defective, he is expected to rise at the hour of the tiger (4 A.M.), wash his feet and hands and don new clothes to meet the auspicious morn. Then, with his gala garments in due order, he worships the celestial and terrestrial deities, performs obeisance to the spirits of his ancestors, offers congratulations to parents and elders, and finally sits down to breakfast. No ordinary viands are consumed. The tea must be made with "young water" (*waka-mizu*), drawn from the well as the first ray of the new year's sun strikes it. The *pièce de résistance* (*zōni*) is a species of *potpourri*,[1] made from six components, invariably present though in varying proportions, and it is absolutely essential that every one desiring to be hale and hearty throughout the opening twelve months should quaff a measure of special *saké*[2] from a red-lacquer cup. Each householder, from the highest to the humblest, is careful to prepare and set out an "elysian stand," or red-lacquer tray, covered with leaves of the evergreen *yuzuriha*, and supporting a rice dumpling, a lobster, oranges, persimmons, chestnuts, dried sardines, and herring roe. This stand and its contents have allegorical signification. Ancient

[1] See Appendix, note 5. [2] See Appendix, note 6.

Chinese legends speak of three islands in some remote ocean where youth is everlasting, where birds and animals are all pure white, and where the mountains and palaces are built of gold and silver. The "elysian stand" (*hōrai-dai*) represents the principal of these three islands (*hōrai-jima*), and the viands piled upon it are either homonymous with words expressing perpetuity and longevity, or present some feature suggesting long life and prosperity. Thus the leaves spread upon the stand are from the shrub *yuzuriha*, and on them repose bitter oranges called *daidai*. But in ordinary colloquial, *daidai yuzuri* signifies to "bequeath from generation to generation." The kernels of chestnuts, dried and crushed, are called *kachi-guri*, and *kachi* also signifies "victory." The lobster (*ebi*), with its curved back and long tentacles, is typical of life so prolonged that the back becomes bent and the beard grows to the waist. The sea-weed (*kombu*) is a rebus for *yorokobu*, or *yorokombu*, to "rejoice." Sardines are set out because the little fish swim never singly but always in pairs, suggesting conjugal fidelity; herring roe, because of all the sea's inhabitants the herring is supposed to be the most prolific; dried persimmons, because of the fruit's medicinal qualities; and rice-cake, otherwise called "mirror-dumpling" (*kagami-mochi*), because, in the first place, its shape and name refer to the "sacred mirror" of the *Shintō* paraphernalia, and, in the second, when cut up for consumption it is known as *ha-*

gatame, or "teeth-strengthener," a word having the same sound as "debility restorer." Thus this assemblage of edibles constitutes a feast of fortune. Originally the elysian stand was set before guests coming to pay New Year's calls, and the comestibles placed upon it were partaken of. But it subsequently became a mere article of furniture, a part of the decorations of the season. These decorations, spoken of collectively as *kado-matsu*, or "pine of the doorway," consist primarily of pine and bamboo saplings planted at either side of the vestibule and having a rope of rice-straw (*shime-nawa*) suspended across the boughs or festooned from them. History says that the fashion of the pines dates from the beginning of the tenth century; that the bamboo was added five hundred years later, and that the straw rope preceded both by an unknown interval. No religious significance attaches to the pine or the bamboo; they simply typify ever-green longevity. But the rope recalls the central event in the Japanese cosmogony, when, the Sun Goddess having been enticed from her cavern, a barrier was stretched across the entrance to prevent her from retreating thither again. Wherever the rope hangs the sweet fresh breath of spring is supposed to penetrate. This, then, is the most prominent element of the decorations: it is suspended not only at the entrance of the house, but also beside the well, before the bathroom, across the sacred shelf, and in the inner court. At the

central point of the rope a lobster, some fern fronds, and some *yuzuriha* leaves are usually tied, the fronds and leaves serving, in this instance, to suggest hardy verdure. A piece of charcoal is added to the assembly, tradition assigning to it the power of warding off evil influences. Theoretically no work of any kind should be done on New Year's day. Even the usual business of sweeping the house is forbidden, lest some element of the "male principle" should be inadvertently removed with the rubbish. But this idleness is merely nominal, for there devolves upon every one the inevitable duty of paying congratulatory visits to friends and relatives, — a duty which is gradually losing many of its old-time graces and assuming the character of a *corvée*. From the tiniest child to the most ancient grandfather, each dons the best and newest garments that the family wardrobe can furnish, and while the grown-up folk make their round of calls, lads, lassies, and children devote themselves to appropriate pastimes. The visits paid by the small fry of society to the great fish involve nothing more than inscription of one's name in a book or the deposit of one's card in a basket. It is impossible to conceive anything colder and more conventional. Often even the formality of a servant to receive the names of the callers is dispensed with: the visitor finds an untenanted vestibule, a receptacle for cards, and a name-book. But where friendship is concerned, and

among the middle and lower classes generally, the call assumes a more genuine and genial character. The visitor carries with him, or is preceded by, a present of some kind, a "year jewel" (*toshi-dama*); usually trifling in value — as a basket of oranges, a fan, a bundle of dried seaweed (*hoshi-nori*), a towel, a parcel of paper, a salted salmon, or a box of sweetmeats — but always wrapped up with scrupulous neatness, and encircled by a cord with strands of red and gold or red and white, the ends joined in a "butterfly knot," under which is thrust a bit of haliotis looking out from a quiver-shaped envelope. Black is the ill-omened hue among colours in Japan; red stands at the opposite end of the category, and red and gold constitute the richest combination, red and white being next in order of auspiciousness. The bit of dried haliotis has a double meaning: it suggests not only singleness of affection, supposed to be typified by the mollusc's single shell, but also durability of love and longevity, since the dried haliotis is capable of being stretched[1] to an extraordinary length. This elaboration of detail extends to the formulæ of greeting. The curt phrases current in the Occident are replaced by sentences that centuries of use have polished and crystallised: "I respectfully tender rejoicings at the opening season;" "I thank you for the many acts of kindness shown to me in the old year, and trust that there

[1] See Appendix, note 7.

will be no change in the new;" "On the contrary, it is I that have to be grateful for your services and to beg for their continuance;" "I am ashamed to offer such an exceedingly insignificant object, but I entreat that you will do me the honour of accepting it as a mere token;" "I am overwhelmed to find that you have come to me when I should have hastened to wait upon you;" and so forth and so on, each sentence punctuated with profound bows and polite inspirations. Meanwhile the streets are converted into playgrounds. Business is entirely limited to the sale or purchase of "treasure-ships" (*takara-bune*), — a favourite toy typical of good fortune, — sweet *saké* and bean-jelly (*yokau*), carried about by hucksters whose musical cries enhance the general festivity. The shops are not shut, but ingress is denied by means of bamboo blinds hanging underneath tablets which bear the name of the householder and are fastened in place with cords of red and white. There is a sound of laughter everywhere, for all the young people turn out, in bright costumes, and play battle-board (*hago-ita*) and shuttlecock, the penalty for dropping the shuttlecock being to receive, on a tender part of the body, a whack from the battle-boards of all the other players, or a smudge of ink on the face, each of which visitations evokes peals of mirth. The shuttlecock is a diminutive affair, flying swiftly and requiring to be struck true and full. Tradition ascribes to it originally the shape of a dragon-

fly, and alleges that the game acts as a charm against the attacks of mosquitoes during the ensuing summer, the dragon-fly being a devourer of those insect pests. But that phantasy has passed out of mind. The game of shuttlecock came to Japan from China. In the latter country it is a pastime for men: the heels of their shoes, soled with paper to a thickness of one or two inches, serve for battledoors, and they kick with marvellous dexterity. Japan added a battle-board and thus adapted the amusement to both sexes, while at the same time, bringing its paraphernalia within the range of decorative art. For the battle-board gradually became an object of beauty. The idea of furnishing it with a cat-gut face or parchment back did not occur to its makers: it remained essentially a thin, flat board of white pine. But its reverse, lacquered at first in gold and colours, was finally covered with applied pictures (*oshie*) showing all the elaboration of detail that distinguishes a Parisian *poupée* of the most costly kind. The Japanese maiden loves and cherishes dolls at least as much as does her little sister of the West, but her battle-boards hold nearly the same rank in her affections, and if she is fortunate in the possession of rich parents and fond friends, the pillars of her play-room support galleries of battle-boards where may be seen all the great personages of her country's history moulded in white *habutæ*[1] and tricked out in the

[1] See Appendix, note 8.

resplendent robes of the Palace or the glittering armour of the campaign. The game of battledoard and shuttlecock, though it engages the attention of girls of all ages, finds comparatively little favour with lads until they have reached the age when love of muscular sports begins to be supplemented by a sense of feminine graces. Kite-flying is the amusement of the boy proper. It is a curious fact, apparently inconsistent with experience in other directions, that while the kite occupies at least as large a space in the vista of Japanese as of Chinese childhood, and attracts a much greater share of adult attention in Japan than in China, the ingenious and fantastic shapes that the toy takes in the Middle Kingdom are not emulated in the island empire. The dragon, two or three fathoms long, that may be seen writhing over a Chinese village, each section of its body an independent aeroplane, becomes in Japan a single rectangular surface, generally lacking even the picturesque adjunct of a tail, and unornamented save that the figure of some renowned warrior is rudely caricatured on its face. This difference indicates simply that the Japanese boy prefers the practical to the fanciful. What he wants is, not a quaint monster undulating at a low elevation, but an object that shall soar as loftily and as perpendicularly as possible, and shall hang humming from the blue right overhead.

A digression may be made here from the routine of annual observances in order to speak

more fully of kites, for while they hold among Japanese pastimes a rank so prominent as to call for special description, the season for flying them varies in different localities, and it is consequently impossible to assign to them a set place in any calendar of sports. Little lads in every town and village make New Year's day the great epoch for this business, but adult kite-flyers choose other times. In Nagasaki, for example, which enjoys a high reputation for skill in such matters, the third month of the old almanack — that is to say, the balmy time of April or early May — is the season for the *shi-en-kai* (paper-flying assembly), and on three days in that month — the 10th, 15th, and 20th — all the world and his wife or light-o'-love flock out to one of three spots traditionally appropriated for the game. The kites vary in size from one to thirty-six square feet, but are uniformly rectangular in shape, their ribs made of seasoned bamboo slightly convex to the wind, their paper coverings joined and spread so deftly that perfect equipoise is obtained, and their connection with the flying cord effected by a skein of filaments converging from innumerable points of their surface. The string, through a length of ten to a hundred yards, is covered with powdered glass, for the object of each kite company is to cut down all competitors. Its cord once severed, a kite becomes the property of any one save its original owner, and that inviolable law leads to the organisation of bands of kite-

catchers, who mount into high trees, stand at points of vantage, or roam about, armed with long poles, lassoes, and other catching contrivances. It is understood that whenever several catchers lay hands simultaneously on a kite cut adrift, the person nearest to the severed end of the string shall be regarded as the possessor, and that, where distinction is difficult, the kite must be torn into fragments then and there. But despite these precautions against dispute, fierce fights sometimes occur, and Nagasaki was once divided into two factions that threatened for a moment to destroy the town and each other in the sequel of a kite-flying picnic. Generally, however, the merriest good-humour prevails, and the vanquished return as serene as the victors, all equally undisturbed by the thought that the cost of the *shi-en-kai* makes a large inroad into the yearly economies of the richest as well as the poorest. Tosa, the southern province of the island of Shikoku, is scarcely less celebrated than Nagasaki for the kite-flying propensities of its inhabitants. But there is no set season in Tosa. The birth of a boy, whether it occur in spring, summer, or winter, is counted the appropriate time for a sport that typifies the soaring of ambition and the flight of genius. Humble households send up little kites to signalise these domestic events, but great families have recourse to the *furoshiki-dako*, a monster from twenty-four to thirty feet square with a tail from a thousand

to twelve hundred yards long. The tail, made of red and blue paper, or red and white, in alternate rolls, is coiled in a great open chest, from which the ascending kite draws it, and it is at this huge appendage that rival kites aim their flight. As the kite is pulled down from the clouds, the spectators struggle to possess themselves of the tail, which is generally torn into fragments in the scramble. A feast for all that have assisted to fly the kite terminates the ceremony. Vast, however, as are the dimensions of the *furoshiki-dako* of Tosa, the pride of place, so far as size is concerned, belongs to the "two-thousand-sheet kites" of Suruga and Tottomi provinces. A "sheet"[1] refers to the form in which paper is ordinarily manufactured, namely, a rectangular measuring a foot by seven inches, approximately. Thus the superficies of a two-thousand-sheet kite, allowing for the joinings of the sheets, is from a thousand to eleven hundred square feet, or about the size of a carpet that would cover a room thirty-three feet square. Such a kite requires a cable to fly it, a sum of from five hundred to six hundred *yen* to construct it, a special building[2] to store it, and a score of strong men to control it. At the opposite extreme of the scale of kite-flying districts stand the provinces of Owari and Mikawa. There the smaller the kite, the more highly it is esteemed. Tiny representations of dragon-flies, cicadas, and bees

[1] See Appendix, note 9. [2] See Appendix, note 10.

are flown with gossamer silk wound on spindles of ivory or tortoise-shell.

It might be supposed that a visit to the temples to pray for good fortune during the new year would be considered an essential part of the day's duties by the pious section of the population; but although a few aged or particularly superstitious folk may be seen offering up a brief orison to the tutelary deity, they are the exception, not the rule. It is considered more fitting to assemble on some highland and join hands of reverence as the first sun of the year rises above the horizon.

Another feature of New Year's day is a dance performed in the streets by strolling mummers who go about in pairs, *manzai saizo*, fantastically apparelled. One carries a small hand drum, the other a fan, and they dance from door to door with a degree of vigour not usually displayed by saltatory artists in Japan. Girls of the Eta[1] class also go about wearing immense hats that almost completely hide their faces, and playing *samisen*. These are the *tori-oi*, or bird-chasers. A Chinese superstition transplanted to Japan says that birds of ill omen hover in the air on New Year's day, and seek an opportunity to enter men's abodes. It is the duty of the *Eta* damsels to avert this calamity, and little paper parcels of cash handed out to them from house after house as they pass along, striking a few notes on the

[1] See Appendix, note 11.

samisen here and a few notes there, show how conservatively respectful is the demeanour even of the modern Japanese towards these ancient beliefs.

As the first day of the month is one of complete abstention from all ordinary business, so the second marks the conventional resumption of trades, industries, and occupations. The student looks into his books; the calligraphist uses his brush; the merchant opens his store; the mechanic takes out his tools; the sailor handles his ship; the painter mixes a colour; and the wholesale dealer sends goods to the retailer. But all these doings are only pretty make-believes. No one thinks of working seriously. Even the *hatsuni*, the first distribution of merchandise, takes the form of a picturesque procession of hand-wagons gaily decorated and drawn by men in bright costumes. At the Palace and in the residences of noblemen special dances are performed, and wherever a shrine stands in honour of the god of prosperity (*Daikoku*), cakes of rice flour moistened with warm water are offered.[1]

The 3d is regarded as the fête of the "three *Daishi*." Piously disposed people in Tōkyō visit the Uyeno temples, and in Kyōtō repair to Hiei-zan; but it must be confessed that the "mirror-dumpling" ceremony on the following day is observed with far more punctilio. The "mir-

[1] See Appendix, note 12.

ror-dumplings" (*kagami-mochi*), which have hitherto stood on the "elysian table," and those that have been offered at the family altar (*kami-dana*), at the well, and at the hearth, are cut up, fried with soy, and eaten by every member of the household, though, in truth, the dish derives its relish rather from the season than from its own savour.

At dusk on the 6th and at dawn on the 7th a curious combination of cooking and incantation takes place. It is called "the chopping of the seven herbs." From the Nara epoch — that is to say, from the eighth century — it became customary that the Emperor, attended by the Court nobles, should make an expedition to the hills on the "first day of the rat," in the first month, for the purpose of rooting up pine saplings and carrying them back to plant in the Palace park. His Majesty thus brought home longevity, of which the pine had always been symbolical. At the same time the leaves of spring plants were plucked, so that green youth might accompany length of years. It would be futile to attempt any description of the stately graces and elaborate ceremonial with which the Japanese can invest these acts in themselves so primitive. The transplanting of a baby pine, the gathering of a few tender leaves, are purposes so essentially paltry that to prelude them by sumptuous preparations and accompany them by solemn rites seems a grotesque solecism.

But the most trivial aim derives dignity from the earnestness with which it is pursued, and the Japanese can be just as much in earnest about the lightest fancy as about the weightiest fact. They know how to be picturesquely great in small things, and if the faculty is crushed hereafter by collision with the hard realities of Western civilisation, the artistic world will be so much the poorer. During the first century of this pine-transplanting observance, its leaf-plucking adjunct was simply symbolical, but from the time of the Emperor Saga (813 A. D.) the practical precepts of Chinese traditions were adopted, and the leaves came to serve as seasoning for soup. Seven kinds had to be selected by those that aimed at strict orthodoxy, but common folks contented themselves with two. These they placed on a block, and with a large knife in each hand chopped rythmically to the seven-syllabled refrain: —

> "Birds of ill-hap, pass us by,
> Never here from China fly;
> Flit and hop, flitting hopping;
> Chip and chop, chipping chopping." [1]

Here once more appear the birds of ill omen which the ample-hatted *Eta* maiden has already been seen driving away with *samisen* strains on New Year's day. Their connection with the preparation of the "seven-herb" soup is an affair of sound, not sense. The Chinese were wont to

[1] See Appendix, note 13.

rap on the doors of their houses for the purpose of scaring away these invisible visitors, and the Japanese have converted that profoundly sensible custom into a chorus which they chaunt to the accompaniment of the chopping-knives, making a merry pastime out of even this primevally simple performance.

From the eighth day of the month business is resumed, and on the 11th men of war make offerings of mirror-dumplings to their armour, and practise archery, using a target big enough to avert the misfortune of opening the year with a bad record. On the 14th the decorations of pine, bamboo, and rope are removed and burned together, but in their place willow wands finely split into flower-like forms (*kezurihana*) are fixed to the eaves.[1] The cremation of the pine saplings and their companions is intended to drive away the mountain demons, who hate the crackle and sputter of fire, and to invite the cheerful principle while expelling the sad.[2] The 15th is distinguished as the "chief-origin" day, and tradition requires that bean (*azuki*) broth should be eaten in every household, the bean being fatal to evil spirits. This day, too, and the 16th are servants' holidays. Men-servants and women-servants are allowed to visit their homes, a proceeding politely designated "the return of the rustics" (*yabuiri*). The New Year's ceremonials are now nominally at an end. Indeed, they may be said to have

[1] See Appendix, note 14.

[2] See Appendix, note 15.

terminated with the burning of the decorations. But there remains one observance never forgotten or curtailed. It belongs to the 20th, is called "the first face," and consists in offerings of rice dumplings (*mochi*) by the fair sex to their toilet mirrors, just as on the 11th the *samurai* makes a similar offering to his armour. While maids and matrons pay this vicarious homage to their own charms, merchants worship the deities of prosperity, Ebisu and Daikoku, the main feature of their worship being a display of profuse hospitality to friends and relatives, — a veritable housewarming.

It will be observed that the gods do not play a very prominent part in Japan's New-Year observances. People do not turn their feet to the temples, nor do the priests deliver sermons to large audiences. At the close of the month (24th and 25th), however, there is a faint revival of religious sentiment. The shrines of Emma, the deity of Hades, are visited, and the more superstitious carry with them little wooden carvings of a bullfinch, which they have carefully kept during the old year and which they now exchange at the shrines for new effigies; thus divesting themselves of the burden of their sins of deceit during the past twelvemonth and receiving a token of renewed sincerity and renewed expiation throughout the opening year. This is another example of those quaint plays upon words probably inevitable among people speaking a lan-

guage like that of the Japanese. The name of the bullfinch (*uso*) is homonymous with the term "falsehood." Thus the idea of the worshipper is to hide in his sleeve — for the effigy of the bullfinch is thus carried — all the fibs and falsehoods of which he has been guilty throughout the old year, and to avert their evil results. But the singular fact is that he carries home from the shrine a new symbol of deception. He makes naïve admission that life cannot be lived without lying, whereby he thus avoids at least the lie of pretending to think that it can.[1] It must not be supposed, however, that his fresh bullfinch confers prospective absolution from the guilt of guile. No such idea is acknowledged, though it is easy to perceive that a mechanical device for periodically evading the consequences of deceit cannot fail to create a false conscience towards the fault.

Every year of the "ten-stem cycle" on which the almanack of old Japan was based, has a special point of the compass from which fortunate influences are supposed to emanate. The god controlling these influences is called the "Year-luck Deity" (*Toshi-toku jin*), and throughout the first month sacred *saké* (*miki*) and rice dumplings are offered to this mysterious being at the domestic altar. There is, in truth, no more mysterious divinity in the Japanese pantheon, — a divinity of doubtful sex, said by some to be the youngest

[1] See Appendix, note 16.

daughter of the Dragon king whose palace is at the bottom of the sea, and described by others as a sort of steersman spirit who guides the sequence of the years through the changes of the compass points. The average Japanese wastes no more brain fibre over the enlightenment of these arcana than the average Christian does over the orthodoxy of the Logos. It is a traditional part of the New Year's observances to fill with votive wine the sacred bottles (*on-miki-dokuri*) reserved for that purpose, and to flank them with plump dumplings of rice-flour, just as it is a duty of joy to build up at the threshold pillars of longevity and an arch of sweet atmosphere.

There is little in the way of fête or pastime to distinguish the first half of the second month. The innumerable shrines of Inari throughout the country are thronged with worshippers on the first "day of the horse" (*hatsu-uma*), generally about the 2d of the month; lights are placed in the pillar-lamps; flags are hoisted, and after praying for agricultural prosperity, the people feast on "red rice" (*seki-han*), the invariable dish at seasons of congratulation. This day, also, used to be counted specially auspicious for the commencement of children's studies, but modern civilisation has severed the old-fashioned connection between education and the cycles of stems and signs. Still, however, there are housewives so conservative of tradition that only on the second day of the second month will they consent

to engage a new woman-servant, such having been the ancient rule.[1]

The first fifteen days of the second month are known as the time of the "insects' tremor" (*ketchitsu*); the second fifteen as the "spring equinox" (*shumbun*). It is supposed that the insects which have lain dormant throughout the winter feel the touch of spring and start in their sleep, preluding the bursting of the plum blossoms, which takes place from the 15th. Visits to the plum forests marks the beginning of the year's open-air fêtes. Appreciation of natural beauties is a sense that has attained great development in Japan. It is independent of social refinement or philosophical education. The blacksmith's apprentice and the scullery maid welcome the advent of the flower time as rapturously as do the dilettante and the noble dame. In the case of the plum there are features that appeal with special force to the æsthetic instincts of the people. The gnarled, age-worn aspect of the gloomy tree contrasts so powerfully with the fresh softness of its pearl-like blossoms, and the absence of leaves so enhances the sanguine temerity of the fragile flowers, that the Japanese discover in this effort of nature a hundred allegories pointing the victory of hope over despair, the renewal of vigour among decay, the triumph of fortune over the blight of adversity. A library might be filled with the verselets that have been composed in

[1] See Appendix, note 17.

honour of plum flowers, and suspended from the branches of favourite trees in the groves to which all classes of the people flock at this season.

Battle-board and shuttlecock, kite-flying and archery, have been spoken of here as sports considered specially appropriate to the New Year; but there are other games which, though not limited to any particular period, are naturally played with exceptional zest at that time. Football used to be one of them; but the old-fashioned *ke-mari*, imported from China a dozen centuries ago, has now been completely ousted by its Occidental representative. The essence of the sport, as practised in China and Japan, was to kick the ball as high as possible and to keep it always in flight. There were no goals, no organised systems of assault and defence, and the pastime was essentially aristocratic. Hand-ball (*te-mari*) is the corresponding amusement of the gentle sex. The reader must not imagine anything in the nature of English "fives." Hand-ball, as the Japanese girl plays it, is a combination of refined dexterity and graceful movement. The ball is struck perpendicularly on the ground, and the player performs a complete pirouette in time to strike it again as it rebounds. Sometimes she meets it at the summit of its bound and arrests it for a second on the back of her fingers before reversing her hand and striking the ball downward again preparatory to a new pirouette; sometimes she makes it leap so high that she can

pirouette twice before it springs again from the ground, and, all the while, she and her companions chaunt a song in unison with these lithe movements. Victory depends upon not letting the ball escape beyond the range of circle and stroke, but victors and vanquished alike have the satisfaction of displaying to the full that "eloquence of form" which constitutes the speech of the coquette. There are other methods of playing the game, but they need not occupy attention here; unless, indeed, exception be made in favour of *o-te-dama*, which has for its paraphernalia three, five, or seven tiny rectangular bags filled with small beans, and which demands only a fraction of the exertion required by *te-mari* proper. To tell how these miniature bags are manipulated would call for two or three pages of text and two or three score of illustrations. But if any lady has a beautiful hand and arm, a supple wrist, a quick eye, and muscles capable of nice adjustment, the Japanese accomplishment of *o-te-dama* deserves her serious attention.

To this context, also, belongs *sugo-roku*, or the "ranging of sixes," which, though it includes the demoralising element of dice, is, of all indoor pastimes, the most generally affected in Japan. The "race game," familiar in Europe and America, is so closely akin to Japanese *sugo-roku* that it is difficult to doubt their common parentage. There is a broad sheet divided into lettered or pictorial sections, from one to another

of which the player progresses according to the number thrown by him with a single die. The game is said to have had its origin in India,[1] whence it found its way to Japan in the eighth century. At first it was prohibited on account of its gambling character, but eventually Buddhist priests took it up, and converted it into an instrument for inculcating virtue. An illustrated ladder of moral tenets, varied by immoral laches, led to heaven or precipitated into hell, and young people were expected to derive a vicarious respect for the ethical precepts that marked the path to victory. The game thenceforth became a vehicle of instruction as well as amusement, its pictures representing sometimes official grades or religious terms.

A cognate amusement, without the use of dice, is the "poem card" game (*uta-garuta*). This, as its name *karuta* — a Japanese rendering of the Spanish word *carta* — suggests, is partly of foreign origin. Before their contact with the West, the Japanese had a pastime called "poem shells," — *uta-kai*, or *kai-awase*, — the precursor of "poem cards." In its earliest day, this amusement consisted simply in joining the shells of a bivalve. A number of shells—twenty, thirty, or more — constituted the pack, from which one was taken by each player, the remainder being spread on the mats to form a "deck." The player's object was to find the mate of the shell dealt to him. By

[1] See Appendix, note 18.

and by, as the game received aristocratic patronage, shells of special beauty were selected, carefully polished, and placed in circular boxes of rich gold lacquer, which figured among the furniture of every refined lady's boudoir. Then a new feature was added: the affinity of two shells was indicated by inscribing on one the first half of some celebrated couplet and on the other the second half. The writing of poetry — or, to speak more accurately, the knack of expressing some pretty fancy in metrical form — had a place among the essential accomplishments of an educated lady or gentleman in Japan, and involved intimate acquaintance with all the classical gems in that field of literature. It is easy to see, therefore, that these "poem shells" became at once a source of pleasure and of instruction. The Portuguese, coming in the sixteenth century, brought with them playing-cards as well as Christianity and firearms. Strange to say, however, though the Japanese welcomed the cards, they rejected the foreign manner of using them, and devised a game of their own, which may be compared to whist, but is, on the whole, more complicated and difficult. It is called "flower-joining" (*hana-awase*). The essentially Japanese feature of the game is that every card bears a representation of some flower, with the name and appearance of which the player must be familiar. Cards are also substituted for shells in the "poem-shell" pastime described above, and these *uta-garuta*

(poem cards) occupy in the repertoire of feminine and youthful pastimes the same place that the difficult game of *hana-awase* holds among the amusements of men. In Japanese estimation, however, no game supports comparison for a moment with that of *go*, to which foreign translators give the misleading name "checkers," though it bears about the same relation to checkers as *vingt-et-un* does to whist. There is probably no other game in the world that demands such analytical insight and genius for combination. Every educated man plays *go*, but very few develop sufficient skill to be classed in one of the nine grades of experts, and not once in a century does a player succeed in obtaining the diploma of the ninth, or highest, grade. The board and men — small round counters of shell, ivory, or stone — used for playing *go* serve also for a pastime called *gomoku-narabe*, or "five in a row;" a simple amusement, affected by girls and children, and mistaken by many foreigners for *go* itself, with which it has no manner of connection. Chess (*shogi*), too, is very popular. It is cognate with the "royal game" of the Occident, but there are thirty-six pieces instead of thirty-two, and the board has eighty-one squares instead of sixty-four. On the other hand, though the movements and names of the pieces resemble those of their Western representatives, their powers are not so large, and it has consequently been inferred that the Japanese game is simpler than the Occi-

dental. The inference is probably erroneous, for any element of simplicity due to the reduced power of the pieces is compensated by their greater number, and by the fact that at a certain stage pieces previously won or lost reappear in a combination. A form of chess to which the term applies only by courtesy—namely, *tsume-shogi*, or the imprisonment of one freely moving piece by several others of very restricted power—is much played by the lower orders.

Gambling has never been practised in Japan on a scale commensurate with European records. Such an incident as the ruin of an educated man by cards and dice is comparatively rare. The game of *hana-awase*, spoken of above, might be expected to attain the rank held by whist or piquet in Europe and America, and thus to become a recognised amusement in refined circles. But a certain measure of discredit has always attached to it. Cards are not among the recognised pastimes of polite society, and the card-player is counted a *mauvais sujet* in a serious sense. "Poem cards" and *sugo-roku* are, of course, considered perfectly innocent: no betting is connected with them. But players of *hana-awase* sometimes put up large stakes, and repair to tea-houses and restaurants to carry on the game in secret. These, however, are invariably young folks who have not yet concluded the sowing of their wild oats. A man of mature years who devotes his evenings to such doings recognises

himself as a vicious person. Certain sections of the lower orders, on the other hand, are not restrained by any sentiment of self-respect in this matter. Grooms, drawers of *jinrikisha*, and carriers of *kago* often while away the intervals of their toil with a game of cards, and stake their hardly earned coins on the result. One may occasionally see a group of these men, huddled together in some out-of-the-way corner and rapt in their illicit pursuit, while one of their number stands sentinel to watch for the coming of a constable. The law is very strict. Whenever and wherever he is observed, the card-player for money may be arrested.[1] There must be distinct evidence, however, that money changes hands. Gambling-houses do not exist and never have existed. The three-card man, the hunt-the-pea artist, and the roulette board are not seen at public fêtes. They would be promptly "run in." But the professional gambler does exist. So far as his art is concerned, he is generally a poor species of ruffian. Loaded dice and sufficient sleight of hand to substitute them for the legitimate ivories are his stock in trade. There is no scope for skill, nor any redeeming doctrine of chances and probabilities. Youths with money or expectations are enticed into the society of these professionals, and robbed until they are no longer worth robbing. Still the field for exercising talent so rudimentary is very limited. The

[1] See Appendix, note 19.

gambler, therefore, moulds himself on finer lines. He is an accomplished man of the world, a charming companion, fatally versed in all the intricacies of *hana-awase*, and competent to supplement skill by art. He frequents fashionable tea-houses, and inveigles pleasure-seekers into little games with costly results.

Numerical symmetry has always possessed a charm for the Japanese, and may perhaps be chiefly responsible for the fact that during many centuries they have specially fêted the third day of the third month, the fifth of the fifth, the seventh of the seventh, and the ninth of the ninth. These four days, together with the seventh day of the first month, constitute the *go-sekku*, or "five festivals of the seasons." There is a weird and fanciful legend which connects the five celebrations with the story of an ox-headed incarnation of Buddha, who married the youngest daughter of the dragon king, and subsequently carved into five pieces the body of a prince who had opposed his quest for a wife; but the fabrication of this gruesome tale evidently succeeded the birth of the custom for which it professes to account.[1] The celebration on the third day of the third month is commonly called the *hina-matsuri*, or dolls' festival. It is the fête of little maidens, and their manner of celebrating it is to marshal a multitude of dolls representing historical characters, with their vassals, servitors, soldiers,

[1] See Appendix, note 20.

equipages, and paraphernalia. Incredible care and sometimes great expense are lavished on the preparation of these toys. Every detail is studiously exact, whether of costume, of armour, of arms, of head-dress and foot-gear, of camp or palace furniture, of utensils for cooking and for feasting, of arrangements for wedding ceremonies and state progresses. Sometimes the figures and their accessories number as many as from five hundred to a thousand articles, and the work of setting them out is a delight of days' duration, no less than a liberal education in the customs and etiquette of refined life. In every house offerings are made of white *saké* and herb-cake (*kusa-mochi*), that is to say, cake made of rice-flour mixed with leaves of the artemisia (*yomogi*), or of "mother-and-child" shrub (*haha-ko-gusa*). Of course costly collections of *o-hina-sama*, or "honourable effigies," as the little maidens call them, are preserved from generation to generation, descending from mother to daughter. But the demand for new ones gives employment to a considerable body of artists, and during the week that precedes the fête day, a busy market is held in such quarters of the capital cities as from time immemorial have been counted the chief emporia of these elaborate toys, — for example, Nakabashi, Owari-cho, and Jikkendama in Tōkyō; Shijo and Gojo in Kyōtō, and Mido-maye and Junkei-cho in Ōsaka. So soon as the fête is over, the *o-hina-sama* are packed away in silk and wadding, not to

see the light again until the third month of the following year. There is no doubt that the idea of this dolls' festival came from China, but the development that it received after its adoption by the Japanese amounts to complete metamorphosis. The Chinese conception was that the first "serpent-day" [1] in the third month should be devoted to exorcising the evil influences to which each person is individually exposed. For that purpose an exorcist supplied a paper puppet, with which the recipient rubbed his body. This *nademono* (literally, rubbing thing) was then returned to the exorcist, who performed certain rites over it. By and by it became customary to range the *nademono* of a household on a shelf with offerings of wine and food, and out of that habit grew the *o-hina-sama*. It is a record fairly illustrating the changes undergone by the customs of the East-Asian continent after transplantation to Japanese soil.

Tradition says that when Sakyamuni was born a dragon appeared and poured water over the babe. The incident is commemorated in Japan on the fourth day of the fourth month, when the "washing of Buddha" (*kwan-butsu* or *yoku-butsu*) takes place. An image of the god — a birthday Buddha (*tanjō-butsu*) — is set up in a hall decorated with flowers, and each worshipper pours water or *amacha* (a decoction of hydrangea leaves) over the effigy from a tiny

[1] See Appendix, note 21.

ladle. This, being a temple rite, does not evoke much enthusiasm, but evidences of its popular observance may be seen in decorations of azalea sprays, *shikimi* boughs, and *u* (*Deutzia scabra*) blossoms set up at the gates of houses. As usual, the idea of averting evil dictates the procedure of the time. Worms are the special object of exorcism. A leaf of shepherd's purse (*nazuna*) is tied inside the lantern of the sleeping-chamber, and over the lintel is pasted an amulet[1] written with ink which has been moistened with the liquid of lustration (*amacha*). Again the rice-flour cake is offered at the domestic altar. It now takes the form of a lotus petal with capsule of bean-paste (*an*). In the cities hucksters go about selling ducks' eggs, which, eaten on this day, are supposed to be efficacious against palsy; and occasionally itinerant priests, with close-cropped hair and a peculiar costume, pass from street to street calling out, *O-shaka! o-shaka!* or "Buddhas to sell, Buddhas to buy," and performing buffoon tricks to gaping crowds. The stock in trade of these *gwannin-bo* (depraved priests) consists of little images of Sakyamuni and five-coloured flags of the *u* flower, the whole carried ignominiously in common water-pails.

The fourth month of the old calendar, the May of modern times, is distinguished above all other months as the season of flowers. It is then that the cherry blooms, and in Japanese eyes the

[1] See Appendix, note 22.

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[1] See Appendix, note 22.

A "NO" DANCER IN COSTUME.

cherry flower typifies everything that is at once refined, beautiful, and vigorous. The blossom itself has no special excellence; it is as cherry blossoms are everywhere. But by massing the trees in positions that lend themselves to a *coup-d'œil*, by arching them over long avenues beside broad rivers, and by setting them in a framework of exquisite scenery, there are produced glowing effects and harmonious contrasts which, enhanced by the opalescent atmosphere of a Japanese spring, are worthy of the passionate enthusiasm they arouse. It has been sometimes asserted, sometimes denied, that a keener love of flowers and a more subtle sense of their beauties exist, either by instinct or by education, among these Far-Eastern people than can be found anywhere else. Those that take the affirmative view point to the vast crowds of men, women, and children that throng the cherry groves during the short season of bloom; to the universality of this affectionate admiration, as potent to draw the grey-headed statesman or the philosopher from his studio as to attract lads and lasses on the threshold of life and love; to the familiar acquaintance with flowers and their habits that is possessed even by artisans and scavengers, and to the fact that the Japanese manage to derive much wider gratification from flowers and to utilise them more effectively as factors of public pleasure than any other nation does. In the science of horticulture they rank far below Europeans and Americans. They had practically

no knowledge of botany until they acquired it from the West. Their gardens have never included conservatories of rare exotics. It has not occurred to them to organise competitive flower-shows in the Occidental fashion, and nature has bequeathed to them only a small portion of the floral wealth with which England, France, and the United States are dowered. Yet they have made so much of her comparatively scanty gifts that the blossoms of each season are a feature in their lives, a prime element in their happiness. If they possessed the laburnum, the lilac, the hawthorn, the gorse, the bluebell, the snow-drop, the honeysuckle, the jessamine, the primrose, and all the other "letters of the angel tongue" written on the fair faces of some Western countries, it is possible, indeed, that the keenness of their appreciation might have been dulled by satiety; but, judging by the facts as actually existing, the strong probability is that they would have taught the world new ways of profiting by these gifts of nature. Certainly they stand alone among nations in the public organisation of their taste for flowers and in the universal fidelity with which they gratify it. The cherry fêtes of Tōkyō, Kyōtō, and other Japanese cities need not be described here. In former times, when the patrician stood above the law, and when the disguise of an eye-mask — an "eye-wig," as it was jocosely called — sufficed to justify almost any licence, these motley crowds were sometimes unwilling witnesses of rude practical

jokes. But the policemen's baton is now more potent than the *samurai's* sword, and beyond the discord of a vinous refrain, or, perhaps, entanglement in a group of erratic roisterers, the peaceful citizen has nothing to apprehend. Boat-races on the Sumida River in Tōkyō and athletic sports in the parks are features of this month, but such things are modern innovations and do not yet rank higher than second-rate imitations of their Occidental models. Reference may be made *en passant* to a pretty but now almost obsolete pastime associated with this season, the game of "water windings" (*kyoku-sui*). It had its origin in China, and obtained great vogue at one time among the aristocrats of Japanese society, but the age has passed it by. A cup of wine launched upon a stream was suffered to float at the caprice of the current, and verselets were composed before it came within reach of the convives posted along the banks. A trivial pastime, in truth, but it is in the genius of the Japanese to make much of slender resources.

There is another kind of picnic which survives all changes of fashion, and attracts pleasure-seekers in as great numbers now as it did a hundred years ago. It may be seen at its best in Tōkyō. On certain days in May and early June, when the spring tides recede from the shallow reaches along the southern suburb of the city, large spaces of weed-covered sand emerge from the water, and adjacent to them the sea spreads a

covering only a few inches deep over wide areas where shell-fish congregate. The days when nature behaves in that manner are marked with a red letter in the citizen's calendar. Engagements that must wait weeks or even months for fulfilment, engagements to gather shells in company, are formed between persons of all ages, — green lads and lasses, men and women in middle life, and old folks to whom the spring airs no longer bring more than a fitful suggestion of "light fancies." These pleasure-seekers launch themselves in the favourite vehicle of Tōkyō picnics, the *yane-bune*, — a kind of gondola, — and float seaward with the ebbing tide, singing snatches of song the while, to the accompaniment of tinkling *samisen*, or of that graceful game *ken*,[1] so well devised to display the charms of a pretty hand and arm. Such outings differ in one important respect from the more orthodox picnics of Tōkyō folks, — the visits to plum-blooms, cherry-blossoms, peony beds, chrysanthemum puppets, iris ponds, and river-openings. They differ in the fact that there is no display of fine apparel. Bright and skilfully blended colours there are, indeed; but the embroidered girdle, the elaborately woven robe of silk crêpe, the dainty armlet, and the costly hair-pin are absent. Camlets and cottons constitute the proper costume of the day, and a pretty air of business resolution replaces the leisurely archness generally characteristic of the

[1] See Appendix, note 23.

budding damsel in Japan. To two articles of apparel only do the ladies give special heed. Of these, the more important is the petticoat, if such a misleading and commonplace term may be applied to the closely fitting underskirt of Japanese habiliments, — the *yumoji*, a broad band of silk, folded round the body and reaching from the waist to a little below the knee. In the vast majority of cases the colour of this item of clothing is crimson. Its glowing uniformity may, however, be varied by sundry devices, from an almost imperceptible sprig pattern of darker hue, to wonders of deft weaving and happy caprice, and a quick-eyed ethnologist may look to see much exercise of tasteful coquetry in the *yumoji* that grace the suburban shell-beds of Tōkyō at spring-tide picnics. The second article demanding and receiving unusual care is nothing more or less than a towel. Here, again, the paucity of our Anglo-Saxon language becomes perplexing. "Petticoat" may pass for *yumoji, faute de mieux*, but to speak of the *tenugui* (literally, "hand-wiper") as a towel is to convey a very false impression of the little blue-and-white linen kerchief which these shell-seeking ladies twist into the daintiest coiffures conceivable, not so much to shade their complexions as to preserve the gloss and symmetry of the achievements that their hair-dressers have turned out for the occasion. The water, as has been said, is only a few inches deep, but a few inches mean much when skirts

have to be kept from dabbling in the brine, and arms must be free for a plunge above the elbow. It will be understood, therefore, that the shell-beds gleam with such a display of white ankles as would shock a prude. But prudery is not among the paraphernalia taken to sea on these occasions. The Japanese are nothing if not natural, and when the business of the moment demands certain concessions, no one is supposed to look beyond the necessity. But in truth it may be safely said that delicacy and modesty are less outraged at the *shio-ki* in Tōkyō than in many an Occidental salon. The wide sleeves of the upper garment are restrained by a cord (*tasuki*) crossed over the breast and back; the skirts are tucked under the inner girdle, and in that guise merry girls and women paddle about, groping in the soft sand that closes over their white feet, and picking up shell-fish of many kinds in considerable quantities. Grown men, middle-aged men, and even old men do not disdain to join the fun, and seem to find genuine pleasure and excitement in delving after hidden crustacea, while the sea-breeze whispers of luncheon and toys with the crimson *yumoji* of the gentle gleaners. Luncheon, of course, is a special feature of these outings; for in each boat there is a little furnace piled with glowing charcoal, and on this the captured shell-fish crack and sputter, until, sweetened by a drop of soy at the proper moment, they become a delicacy fit for any palate. Then there is leisurely

drifting homeward on the bosom of the rising tide, with faces that have imbibed the sun's glow and limbs that retain a pleasantly languid sense of recent exertion.

The boys' fête (*tango*) on the fifth day of the fifth month is a particularly conspicuous event, owing to the fact that at every house where a male child has been born during the preceding twelvemonth a carp, made of paper or silk, is raised, banner-wise. The carp is attached by its mouth to the end of a flag-staff, and being inflated by the breeze, undulates overhead, so that, throughout the days of this observance, thousands of big fish seem to be writhing and gyrating above the roofs of the cities. In Japanese eyes the carp typifies indomitable resolution. As it sturdily faces the stream and leaps up the waterfall, so fond parents hope that their little lads will rise in the world and overcome all obstacles. The sweet-flag and the iris, now in full bloom, play a conspicuous part in this fête. Bunches of the former, together with sprays of mugwort (*yomogi*), are raised at the eaves of houses,[1] and *saké* seasoned with petals of the iris is the beverage of the season. In the alcoves, warriors, battle-steeds, armour, and weapons of war — often beautiful and brilliant examples of skilled workmanship and decoration — are ranged, but these relics of bygone days are fast losing their interest for the youth of the nation; and since it is impossible to

[1] See Appendix, note 24.

combine picturesqueness with accuracy in any representation of the military uniforms and accoutrements of modern times, alcoves that used once to be crowded with gallant puppets in gorgeous panoply now make no contribution to the gaiety of the *tango*. Tradition tells nothing certain about the origin of this celebration. Some of its details — as, for example, the fact that the rice-cakes peculiar to the time are wrapped in bamboo leaves, and the bean-confections in oak leaves, or that, at the hour of the hare, all lights are extinguished for a brief interval in temples and houses — have their own special legends to explain them, but the festival as a whole is a mystery. There are many minutiæ, but they scarcely merit description in detail. Neither does the series of flower-fêtes that mark the various seasons, the picnics to the wistaria, the azalea, the iris, the lotus, the peonies, the chrysanthemums, the orchids, and the autumnal tints. The ideal of the Japanese is to have a festival of flower or foliage for every month, but their manner of enjoying themselves on these occasions is uniformly simple. They do not carry with them stores of provisions and hampers of wine, but are content with the fare that the local tea-house offers, and to have indited a felicitous couplet and suspended it from the branch of some notable tree, or from the stem of some luxuriantly blooming plant, is to have attained the summit of enjoyment. Were it possible to banish the

spasm-shouts that men mistake for songs, and the twanging of the unmusical *samisen*, the out-door fêtes of Japan would be the acme of refined pleasure-seeking.

Among the ceremonies of the sixth month the principal takes place at twilight by river-banks, when *Shintō* priests set up cross-shaped periapts (*gohei*) and pray for the dispersal of evil influences, or into the stream thus purified cast miniature paper surcoats, shaped by the hands of worshippers and bearing the legend, "Peace be on this household" (*kanai anzen*). The growth of modern ideas tends to weaken the people's fidelity to these purely religious rites, which, indeed, might well be spared from the nation's customs. The same remark partially applies to the case of the *sekku*, on the seventh of the seventh month, for few persons now place faith in the cakes (*sakuhei*) which, eaten upon that day, were formerly supposed to avert ague; nor is the "marriage of the stars" regarded any longer with even traditional curiosity. Yet the latter legend once inspired a pretty ceremony. Four tables used to be placed in the garden, — especially in the park of the "Palace of Pure Freshness," for the custom was always favoured by the imperial family, — and thereon, flanked by smoking sticks of incense, vessels of water were set, to reflect the passage of the heavenly-river (*ama-no-kawa, i. e.* the Milky Way) by the Herdboy Prince (*Tanabata*) on his way to meet the Weaver Princess

(*Ori-hime*). Connected with this ceremonial — purely Chinese in its origin — was the writing of verselets upon thin sheets of bamboo or fine-grained woods; and these *tanzaku*, as they are called, ultimately took the form of dainty tablets, decorated with devices in golden and silvern lacquer, and tasselled with silk cords, many of which have found a place in Western collections merely for the sake of their prettiness. To this seventh month, however, — it must not be forgotten that the terminology of the old calendar is here used throughout, and that the so-called seventh month corresponds, approximately, with August, — to this seventh month belongs a celebration which retains much of its old vigour, and can never be entirely neglected so long as ancestral worship is the national cult. It is a fête known as *Urabon*, or more commonly *Bon*, intended for the welcome and entertainment of the spirits of the dead which are supposed to visit their loved survivors at this season. The nature of the occasion will at once suggest the profound sentiment connected with its observance. Five days, from the 13th to the 16th, are devoted to the rites, though it is not to be supposed that these are of an elaborate or complicated character. The chief duty is to prepare the *shoryo-dana*, or spirit-altar. It is a small mat of straw, having at the four corners bamboo pillars, between which is suspended the inevitable "sweet-air rope" (*shime-nawa*) with pendent decoration of wave-shaped vermicelli, sprays of chest-

nut, dried persimmons, yew berries, ears of millet, white egg-fruits, gourds, and winter cherries. Over the straw floor are strewn bulrushes and leaves of the cockscomb and lespedeza; within the enclosure stand rods thrust into melons or egg-fruits which are cut into shapes of oxen or horses — spirit vehicles — and around the whole is erected a low belt of cedar leaves. The details are inviolable. Viands are, of course, provided for the use of the ghostly visitors. There are the cakes of welcome (*omukae-dango*) and the cakes of farewell (*okuri-dango*); there are rice-balls wrapped in lotus leaves; there is a humble dish called *imo-no-zuki*, which consists of potato-stems boiled and seasoned with soy, and there are fruits varying in kind and quantity according to the means of the household. Lanterns are suspended before each house, and at eventide on the 13th tiny fires of hemp are lit to greet the coming spirits, and a vessel of water is placed outside, that they may wash their feet. Again, on the night of the 16th, these feebly flickering lights shed their rays on the path of the departing visitors, and so the fête ends. The preparations are elaborate; the rites and observances of the simplest. It might be supposed that since the aerial visitors are regarded as guardians and assistants of their kinsfolk on earth, this, their one annual visit, would be converted into an occasion for propitiating their favour and enlisting their aid. But hospitality does not suggest that a guest should be impor-

tuned with petitions. There is some sprinkling of powdered incense over the embers of the hempen bonfire in order that the fumes, mingling with the ghostly essences that permeate the air, may smother evil influences; sometimes, too, men light their pipes in the flame, thinking thus to inhale good fortune; sometimes they step over the fire to avert or heal certain maladies, and sometimes they preserve the cinders as a charm against disease. But the spirits come and go unworried by petitions. Neither their advent nor their presence inspires feelings of awe or horror. The average Japanese is not without a dread of ghosts, and may easily be persuaded into a quiet but firm conviction in the reality of a haunted house, but the spirits that come to visit him in his home at *Bon* time are friends whom he loves and trusts. His disposition is to receive them with dance and song rather than with shrinking and aversion, and it thus fell out that among the multitude of Japanese fêtes none was so conspicuously marked by dancing performances. The past tense is here used, for these *Bon* dances have fallen under the ban of the law in modern Japan, and though still practised in the provinces, are no longer to be seen in the great cities. It is on record that, some two thousand years ago, men and women of all classes, princes and princesses of the blood not excepted, were wont to assemble upon hill-tops or in the streets, and to engage in dances, one object of which was identical with

the motive of the modern ball, namely, to promote the interests of love. This custom was subsequently modified — like so many other Japanese customs — by Chinese influences, but much of its ancient character was certainly preserved in the *Bon* dances which the civilisation of new Japan taboos.

Chapter III

OBSERVANCES AND PASTIMES

(*Continued*)

IT is probable that very few foreigners ever learn to appreciate Japanese dancing. One reason for their want of sympathy is that they approach the study with prejudiced minds. Their conception of dancing is that it must be either musical gymnastics deriving their charm from harmony of sound and motion and pleasurable chiefly to the performer, or a spectacular display, like the Occidental *ballet*, representing large combinations of graceful movements, enhanced by splendid scenery and accessories of painting and sculpture. But in Japan dancing has primarily a mimetic purpose. With rare exceptions, the dance represents some historical incident, some mythical legend, some scene from the realm of folk-lore or superstition. The technique is elaborate, and although the motions never suggest muscular effort or display abnormal contortions, it is nevertheless certain that physical training of the most rigorous character cannot be dispensed with, and that the very ease of the seemingly

smooth and spontaneous action results from art hidden by its own perfection. It is also certain that the mechanics of the dance are as nothing to the Japanese spectator compared with the music of its motion, and that he interprets the *staccato* and *legato* of its passages with discrimination amounting almost to instinct and, in some degree, hereditary. In exceptional cases the foreigner's perception may be similarly subtle, but he must generally lack the faculty of apprehending the esoterics of the dance, and thus finds himself in the position of a man at an opera who has no *libretto*, or a play-goer without a knowledge of the plot.[1] It has already been shown that from prehistoric times dancing constituted a prominent feature in the worship of the deities, and that it had its origin in the fable which represents the inhabitants of heaven dancing before the cave into which the Goddess of the Sun had retired. From the sphere of religion it appears to have passed quickly and widely into the everyday life of the people, until at last the practice acquired a vogue unparalleled in any other country. Volumes might be written descriptive of the numerous dances taught to girls from their tender years, and, on a much smaller but still extensive scale, to boys also; and as for the repertoire of the professional expert, it is virtually inexhaustible. There have been occasions when the whole of the inhabitants of a city turned out

[1] See Appendix, note 25.

in costume to celebrate some noted event by a universal dance. By such means did the citizens of Kyōtō exhibit their joy when the capital of the Empire was transferred to their city from Nara at the end of the eighth century, and by such means also they evinced their gratitude for a year of prosperity in subsequent eras. The latter dance, known as *hōnen-odori*, probably stands at the head of all performances of the kind in so far as concerns the number of those taking part in it and the variety of their costumes. Each district of the city had its distinguishing colour, — light green silk for the east, in imitation of the dragon presiding in that quarter; crimson crêpe for the south, in unison with the plumage of the scarlet bird that soared there; black velvet for the north, to typify the dark panoply of military power; and white crêpe for the west where the grey tiger dwelt.[1] These, it must be understood, were the ground-colours of the dancer's garments: to the hues of the embroidered or woven decoration no limit was set, nor yet to the designs, — a nightingale perched on a spray of blossoming plum; silver trout gleaming in blue streams; snowy herons roosting among pine-boughs at Gion shrine; fiery maples glowing on the Kwacho hillside; rosy cherry-petals floating over the Otowa waterfall, or the vulgar Venus (*Otafuku*) embracing a mushroom on Inari mountain, — such and many other fancies the skill of the

[1] See Appendix, note 26.

weaver and the embroiderer depicted on the robes of this motley concourse, whose units, each disguised according to his or her fancy, as chair-bearers, as sorcerers, as pilgrims, as sailors, as grooms, as pedlars, as nurses, as dumpling-hucksters, as publicans, as apprentices, as anything and everything that did not ape aristocracy or trespass upon the domain of the patrician, danced, for hour after hour, in a maze of graceful or grotesque movement, to the music of drum and flute. Many words might be squandered on attempts to describe these dances, so delightful to Japanese senses, but the impression verbally conveyed must be at best a mere shadow of the reality. Sometimes the performers are tiny maidens, only seven or eight years old; sometimes men of fifty or upward are alone qualified. The *tanabata* dance on the seventh day of the seventh month, to celebrate the union of the Herd-boy Prince and Weaver Princess, is an example of the former. Each little lassie is dressed in strict conformity with a traditional model, — a lofty coiffure, gay with pins of silver and tortoise-shell; a damask kerchief jauntily knotted on the forehead; long sleeves tied into shoulder-puffs with white-satin cords; a richly decorated satin robe with crimson undergarment; a broad belt, embroidered and embossed with designs in gold and purple; a miniature drum, gilt and silk-stringed, with lacquered drum-stick, in the hands, and purple socks on the feet. Nurses, scarcely less

picturesquely attired, and carrying bright-hued umbrellas with crane-and-tortoise patterns, accompany the little girls and take a subordinate part in the dance, during which the children sing a simple refrain in unison, and beat out the rhythm of their movements on their toy drums. The *gebon-odori* of Wakayama prefecture is a type of elders' dancing. Seventy or eighty merchants join in the performance. They put on hats adorned with artificial flowers; wear black surcoats over white body-garments; carry gourds, umbrellas, gongs, and drums, and recite a religious formula as they dance. Many provincial centres have dances peculiar to the locality, the motives of the performances showing endless variety, and the costumes being of the most fanciful character. These must be seen to be appreciated. The songs chaunted during the dances are innumerable. Generally the ideas are trivial, and the verselets owe their value to the cadence of their five-syllabled and seven-syllabled lines — a kind of metre scarcely capable of being musically reproduced in English words — and to the recurrence of similar sounds in different senses, rather than to the beauty or loftiness of the sentiments they embody. Here are three specimens, the two first translated from the repertoire of the *Bon* dances, the third from that of the "Flower Dance" of Bingo province: —

I

Bon, Bon, with us yet,
To-day and to-morrow pass;
Bon, Bon, or three suns set
Dies like the dead grass,
Dead on the winter hill,
Yet Bon now is with us still.

With dead grass the altar wreathe;
Red overhead the sunshine burns,
To peonies the dead grass turns,
Looked at from beneath.

With dead grass the altar crown,
Silver-soft the moonlight gleams,
Flowers of ruth the dead grass seems
To spirits looking down.

Flowers of the peony
Bloom to pass away;
Bloom of the pity flower
Bides here but to-day.

II

If you go, beloved best,
Take me with you too;
(*Non noko sai sai*)[1]
To the east, to the west,
If only with you.
(*Yotte kono.*)[2]
Smile or frown, joy or care,
Snow or sunny weather,
Anywhere, everywhere,
Only together.
(*Suku naka choi choi.*)

[1] See Appendix, note 27. [2] See Appendix, note 28.

III

If you want to meet me, love,
Only we twain,
Come to the gate, love,
Sunshine or rain;
Stand in the shadow, love,
And if people pry,
Say that you came, love,
To watch who went by.[1]

If you want to meet me, love,
Only we two,
Come to the tea-grove, love,
Moonlight and dew;
Stand among the bushes, love,
And if passers see,
Say that you came, love,
To gather leaves of tea.

If you want to meet me, love,
Only you and I;
Come to the pine-tree, love,
Clouds or clear sky;
Stand among the spikelets, love,
And if folks ask why,
Say that you came, love,
To catch a butterfly.

Any allusion to Japanese dancing immediately recalls to the memory of foreigners familiar with Japan the image of a girl exquisitely refined in all her ways: her costume a *chef-d'œuvre* of decorative art; her looks, demure yet arch; her

[1] See Appendix, note 29.

manners, restful and self-contained yet sunny and winsome; her movements, gentle and unobtrusive but musically graceful; her conversation, a piquant mixture of feminine inconsequence and sparkling repartee; her list of light accomplishments inexhaustible; her subjective modesty a model, and her objective complacency unmeasured. Such is the *geisha*, written about, sung about, and raved about by travellers whom this novel combination of fair sweetness and sordid frailty has moved to a rapture of bewildered admiration, and by "old residents" whose senses, however *blasé*, however racially intolerant, never become impervious to her abstract attractions. She is generally spoken of as a *danseuse*, but dancing, though it figures largely in her training, and though her skill in it doubtless contributes much to her graces of movement, constitutes only a minor part of her professional rôle. She has, in fact, no counterpart outside Japan, for while she is a mistress of all seductive arts, seduction is not necessarily her trade, and whereas she never forgets to be a lady, she takes care never to be mistaken for one. Originally she was simply a dancing child (*odori-ko*), whose trade was to perform in great folks' mansions on festive occasions, and who never degraded herself by accepting an invitation to restaurants or tea-houses. But by and by (1689) the law recognised her as a demoralising influence in military society, and feudal nobles were forbidden to make her a feature at

their feasts. Thus, relegated to the places of public resort which she had hitherto eschewed, she lost caste and character, nor was it until the close of the eighteenth century that she again obtained admittance to aristocratic dwellings. In notifications issued thereafter from time to time the reader has already traced the vain efforts of officialdom to limit the range of her charms. The keeping of *odori-ko* now (1800) became a trade. Instead of living with her parents or guardians, a girl, still in her tender youth, was entrusted to a *geisha-ya* (a *geisha* house), and there, with three or four companions, received training in all the accomplishments necessary to the successful practice of her profession. There, also, she lived for a fixed term of years, somewhat after the manner of an apprentice, her family being paid at the outset a sum of money (*minoshiro-kin*) which greatly resembled a purchase-price, and her earnings, after she had made her *début*, being divided in exceedingly unequal proportions, between her employer and herself. From ten to twenty *yen* was — and is — the amount of compensation given to parents in consideration of their binding their child to a *geisha-ya* for a period of from seven to ten years, but that outlay represents only a fraction of the expenses subsequently incurred by the employer in training the girl and providing rich costumes for her use. From the age of about ten or eleven she begins to do duty as an *o-shaku*, or cup-bearer, and at sixteen or seventeen she

becomes what is technically called *ippon*, a term literally meaning "one stick." The reference here is to the fact that the *geisha's* honorarium is euphemistically measured, not by the flight of vulgar hours, but by the burning of fragrant incense. For the time occupied in burning one stick of incense she receives twenty-five *sen*, whereas the *o-shaku* receives only one-half of that amount. The fact is, twenty-five *sen* an hour, but the fashion of the incense fiction is scrupulously observed. It is chiefly during the "cup-bearer" period of her career that the *geisha* dances. When she reaches the *ippon* stage, she makes music for her little successors of the *o-shaku* rank; plays accompaniments for the songs of the convives; sings to them herself; becomes their *vis-à-vis* in the game of *ken*, or *nanko*,[1] or some other pastime; laughs merrily at their slenderest joke, and caps it with some bright conceit of her own; dances, if required, with a certain display of pretty protest; carries in and out the lacquered trays of edibles, and throws over the whole entertainment a glamour of grace, sunshine, and maiden mystery, without the least *soupçon* of indelicacy so far as her own initiative is concerned. It must be plainly recorded, indeed, that in purely Japanese circles the *geisha* is essentially a refining influence, and that if she errs and leads others into error — as she undoubtedly does — her trespasses are carefully concealed from public gaze.

[1] See Appendix, note 30.

Her twenty-five *sen* (sixpence) an hour is not pay, or wage, or consideration, or any other common kind of earning: it is the "honourable congratulation" (*o-shugi.*) She receives, in addition, an "honourable flower" (*o-hana,*) which varies according to the mood of her employer, but is never less than a *yen.* A statistician might infer from these figures that five hours of "congratulation" plus a "flower" — or, say, a hundred and ten gold cents — represents an excellent daily average. But when a *geisha* is in vogue, she has invitations to "present her face" at many *réunions* on the same day, and even half an hour's act of presence entitles her to "one stick of incense" and one "flower." Thus she earns hundreds, not tens, of *yen* monthly. Then there is the gold that she picks up on the byways of her profession. She may tread them lawfully by purchasing a special license in addition to her *geisha* ticket, or she may follow them in secrecy and danger. Let it be enough to say that she exploits this mine of wealth to its extreme capacity, but without ever overstepping the limits of feminine reserve. She plays all the time for her own hand. Her quest is a lover sufficiently devoted to remove her from a professional career into private life. If she has been but a pale little star on the public horizon, this process of "redemption" is cheap. But if she has become a luminary, the compensation demanded by her employer for the loss of her services is often very large,

and her professional eclipse is glorious in proportion to its costliness.

In this context a problem presents itself which deserves some comment, if only for the sake of correcting false impressions that have been created by imperfectly informed critics. It has been shown in a previous chapter that the sale of human beings found a place among the transactions of Japanese trade from very ancient times, and that, though the dimensions of the practice varied at different epochs, prohibitive legislation never succeeded in stamping it out. From that source the ranks of the "priestesses of humanity" were chiefly recruited. Concerning the origin and growth of the social evil in Japan, it may be supposed that, the family being regarded by the Confucian system of ethics as the very pivot of the State, a powerful motive must have operated to preserve the domestic circle against the incursions of irregular passion. It may also be supposed that, since the military structure of Japanese society did not adapt itself to permanent marital obligations, ephemeral agents of indulgence must have been in large demand. Both hypotheses are correct in a measure, but it would be wrong to infer either that an instinctive desire to maintain the purity of family life imparted moral sanction to extra-matrimonial irregularities, or that the *samurai's* prudent and often necessary abstention from marriage ties created exceptional facilities for less embarrassing relations. As to

the former point, it will probably be nearer the truth to say that, essentially as the Japanese character differs from the usually defined Oriental type, it certainly includes an element of resignation which has no affinity with the stubborn resistance offered in the Occident even to ills that are recognised as inevitable. The Japanese long ago perceived that the natural force of certain appetites far exceeds the requirements of human well-being or happiness, and instead of setting themselves to redress this hopelessly disturbed equilibrium, they preferred to accept the fact and to subject its consequences to official control. It is unnecessary to seek more recondite causes for the growth and licensing of the social evil in Japan, or to discuss the great question whether to endue virtue with vicarious respect by the uncompromising and inefficient stigmatisation of vice, atones adequately for a consequent failure to check the ravages of the most terrible physical scourge that afflicts mankind. That is a problem inviting world-wide solution. The Japanese view of it is the view of continental Europe: they license prostitution. They proceed, also, a step farther than continental Europe, for they banish all the priestesses and paraphernalia of the vice to remote quarters of their cities, and enforce this ostracism with such successful rigour that the remaining quarters are absolutely free from any evidence of the evil. It has often been urged by the advocates of the non-licensing

system that the ban which drives into obscurity every manifestation of the sensual passions is specially potent to diminish their indulgence. The Japanese licensing system certainly achieves that end so far as the vast bulk of the population is concerned. On the other hand, within the prescribed quarters no attempt is made to limit the resources of temptation. The unfortunate women, tricked out in rich costumes and splendid coiffures, sit ranged on a kind of proscenium, separated from the street by a widely latticed partition through which passers-by can gaze without obstruction. It is this feature of the system that chiefly shocks the foreign observer. Exceptional moral obtuseness is suggested by its crude practicality, and it seems to inflict harsh degradation on the woman for the sake of catering to the convenience and, perhaps, appealing to the imagination, of the libertine. Arraigned upon that charge, the Japanese reply, first, that when a man's depraved impulses have led him as far as these remote haunts of vice, little deference need be paid to his small remnants of virtue; secondly, that, by granting licenses, the law constructively recognises the holders' right to ply their trade in whatever manner appears most convenient within the prescribed limits; and thirdly, that to soften the hardships of the courtesan's lot may be a suggestion of mercy, but certainly is not an obligation of morality. Such is the Japanese case, whatever judgment be passed

on its merits. But no one can ignore that the sentence of absolute ostracism and banishment pronounced against the courtesan in Japan, so long as she pursues her evil trade, ought to have a strongly deterrent effect. She is irrevocably exiled, not merely from the society of virtuous people, but even from the vicinity of their habitations and from the places where they congregate for business or for pleasure. She lives in a species of convict settlement, scarcely ever emerging from the precincts of her prison during her term of service, and never suffered for a moment to forget the degradation into which she has sold herself. Her manner of adopting a career of shame constitutes an additional dissuasion. It is always a matter of sale. In consideration of a certain sum paid to her family, she pledges herself to serve as a *yu-jo* (*fille de joie*) for a fixed term of years. Such transactions seem to differ little from slave traffic. They appear to perpetuate the old customs referred to in a previous chapter. The law, however, actively endeavours to avert their worst abuses.[1] It is enacted that a girl must have attained the full age of sixteen before her consent can be accounted legal; that she and her parents or guardians must attend at the office of the *police de mœurs* and signify their united desire to enter into the proposed agreement; that the circumstances of the career she is choosing must then and there be fully ex-

[1] See Appendix, note 31.

plained to her, after which a week's interval must be allowed for her to re-consider her purpose; and that the service she undertakes must be recognised as absolutely terminable by her own free choice at any moment. This last and most important condition is generally overlooked by foreign critics. They imagine that the law sanctions an arrangement by which a girl of tender years is consigned irrevocably to a life of shame and misery, whereas the truth is that the payer of the *mundium* acquires no right enforceable in opposition to the girl's volition, and cannot recover possession of her person if she quits his service. But though the law withholds all recognition of the principle of coercion, there can be no doubt that, for practical purposes, the girl is coerced. The obligation that dictated her original sacrifice remains valid until the completion of the service for which she has contracted. To abandon that service prematurely, means that her family become liable for the money they received from her employer at the outset. Another obstacle usually stands between the *yu-jo* and the recovery of her freedom. Things are so managed that she can scarcely avoid contracting debts on account of her wardrobe, and these debts often compel her to accept a fresh term of degradation. Even in such a career ranks and distinctions are contrived, to rouse ambition and encourage extravagance, so that, once entangled in the meshes of shame, escape is cruelly difficult. It has been

alleged, by slanderers of Japanese ethics, that to have been a *geisha* or a *yu-jo* is not a disqualifying prelude to respectable marriage. There is no truth in the statement. The delirium of passion is responsible for offences against social canons in Japan as in Europe, and during the period of general levelling and confusion that immediately succeeded the fall of feudalism, traditions and conventionalities were sometimes neglected. But, for the rest, the antecedents of a wife are, and have always been, scrutinised just as closely in this section of the Far East as in any Western country. The most unsightly feature of the whole system is the part played by parents and guardians in consigning their daughters or relatives to such a life. Where the promptings of filial duty possess almost the force of law, recourse to them may well take the character of coercion. There is no doubt that the Japanese daughter's estimate of her individual rights weighs little against her sense of family obligations, and that, on the other hand, her parents take a greatly exaggerated view of the obedience she owes them. Disciples of Western civilisation cannot choose but condemn such ethics in the most unequivocal terms. It should be distinctly understood, however, that only the pressure of dire necessity is held to justify the sacrifice of a girl's person. The act is counted a misery by those that have recourse to it, and evokes the profound pity of friends and relatives. There are no purely vol-

untary victims. No one adopts the career, if any possible alternative offers, and that fact must be placed to the credit, either of the system itself, or of the morality of Japanese women.[1] One of the aspirations of modern Japanese reformers used to be the abolition of licensed prostitution. But it never appeared that they had studied the subject by the light of ethical philosophy, and the public declined to take them seriously.

Reverting to the story of the year's fêtes, the reader finds himself in the eighth month of the old calendar, approximately the ninth of the new. This is essentially the dead season. In the times of the Tokugawa *Shōguns*, Yedo was required to hold a grand festival in commemoration of the fact that Iyeyasu, the founder of the Shogunate, made his official entry into the city on the 1st of the eighth month. But the Tōkyō of to-day eschews all acknowledgment of the fact that it was once the capital of the *Shōguns*, and, in September, pays homage to the moon only. There is a Japanese saying that in spring the moonbeams lose themselves among the blossoms; in summer their image reflected from the water is more beautiful than the original; in winter they have an air of desolation; in autumn only their charm is perfect and unmixed. Hence, on the 15th of the eighth month, and the 13th of the ninth, parties are formed to admire the moon;

[1] See Appendix, note 32.

verses are composed in her praise, and in each house a table is set, bearing offerings of *saké*, rice-dumplings, potatoes, chestnuts, persimmons, and pears. This custom, however, like so many of the people's traditional habits, is gradually falling into disuse. In the great cities, Tōkyō, Ōsaka and Kyōtō, it has lost much of its romantic and poetic character, but its vogue is likely to be preserved by climatic and commercial influences. The delightful freshness of early autumn nights renders the moon-fête a welcome excuse for the heat-weary citizens to spend an evening on the water, and owners of river-side restaurants and pleasure-boats contribute industriously to the people's love of these Venetian entertainments. The water of Kyōtō, celebrated for its purity and bleaching properties, comes to the city in little rivulets, and the so-called Kamo River is but a paltry stream trickling seaward over a wide bed of gravel-banks and boulders. But the make-believe faculty with which the Japanese are richly endowed, invests this arid area with all the properties of a broad-bosomed river, and the people sup there under the moonlight, as contentedly as though cool currents were rippling around them and the breath of cataracts fanning their faces. Ōsaka citizens, happier in the possession of the Yodo River, which, taking its way direct from the great lake of Biwa, sweeps generously but gently through their streets, spend much of their summer-evening life floating on the water amid

the flashing of fireworks and the twanging of *samisens*. But though owing to the much greater size of the Sumida River and the configuration of the streets, these water picnics are less *en évidence* in Tōkyō than in Ōsaka, they are in reality more affected. The citizen's ideal of summer pleasure is to hire a *yanebune*,[1] engage two or three *geisha*, and travel lazily up-stream, with scull or sail, debarking at one of the many famous restaurants that line both banks of the river, whence he drifts home, after dinner, along the path of the moonbeams, merry, musical, and, perhaps, love-sick. These delights culminate at a fête called the "river opening" (*kawa-biraki*), which takes place nominally on "moon-night" in August. Those for whom the fête is organised contribute nothing to the preparations. All that part of the affair is undertaken by the river-side restaurants and boat-house keepers, who, for the sake of the throng of customers that the celebration brings, put up a considerable sum to purchase fireworks. It is an excellent speculation. The river in the vicinity of the Ryogoku bridge, the central point of Bohemian Tōkyō, is usually thronged with boats from bank to bank, and every water-side chamber has its party of guests, who pay ample prices for scanty accommodation. It is easy to conceive what a feature the *geisha* constitutes on these occasions, — a girl with all the daintiest graces of person and costume, all the gentle

[1] See Appendix, note 33.

refinements of virtuous womanhood, all the accomplishments of expert training, and all the attractions of vague morality. She is a Japanese invention and a Japanese specialty.

In autumn the chrysanthemum becomes the centre of attraction. The Japanese were once able to claim the premiership of the world as cnltivators of this flower, but their pride of place has been usurped by Western horticulturists. Still the chrysanthemum, their imperial flower, the Emperor's crest, and the nucleus of hundreds of exquisite decorative designs, is far more to them than to any European people. They delight in its quaintly named varieties, — the "jewel of the inner court," the "autumn amulet," the "ten-fingered, ten-eyed flower," the "snow of the pear-bloom," the "sleep of the hoary tiger," the "moon-touched blossom," the "crystal palace," the "five-lake hoar-frost," the "three-treasure petal," and so on; they delight in the wonder of the blossom's dishevelled symmetry, so characteristic of the equipoise and irregularity of their own decorative art; they delight in the wealth of bloom that careful nursing can produce, — as much as from thirteen hundred to sixteen hundred flowers on a single plant, — and they delight in the ingenuity of public gardeners who mould masses of blossoms and greenery into historical and mythological tableaux, which even the country bumpkin and the city *gamin* are not too ignorant to appreciate. It appears that a

banquet in honour of the chrysanthemum used to be one of the regular observances at the Imperial Court in ancient times, and that, at a later era, when the Tokugawa ruled in Yedo, the ladies of the Palace there were accustomed to engage in a species of competition, each procuring a chrysanthemum blossom, the choicest of which was selected for presentation to the *Shōgun's* consort, rich rewards and great *éclat* accruing, of course, to the owner of the "victor flower." All these old fashions have now been merged in a garden-party of Occidental type. At one of the Emperor's detached palaces in Tōkyō numerous chrysanthemum plants of the finest and rarest kinds are cultivated, and during three days in October the park is thrown open to the aristocratic and official classes, the Emperor and Empress themselves appearing among their guests on the first day, — a great occasion for "globe-trotters," who, by the good offices of their country's representative, can generally procure an invitation. The resident foreigner is seldom so fortunate, unless he be in the service of the Government or the recipient of a high-class Japanese decoration, but to be a stranger is to have a warrant of welcome.

Common to all seasons and essentially Japanese in their origin as well as in their developments, are performances held nightly at a species of public-hall called *yose-seki*, or, in every-day parlance, *yose*. The most respectable of these entertain-

ments is the *kōdan*, or historical narrative, known until recent years under the name of *gundan* (war story). In old-time Japan the life of the aristocrat and his doings lay entirely beyond the close scrutiny of every one outside the military class, that is to say, entirely beyond the scrutiny of fully nine-tenths of the nation. The warlike motives and methods of the patrician remained always a mystery to the commoner. Such a state of affairs would certainly have resulted in the growth of a large school of historical romancists had the pen enjoyed any freedom. But the exclusiveness of the *samurai* asserted itself as sharply in the domain of literature as in that of society, and although records of military incidents were compiled from time to time, they seldom rose above skeleton narratives without a breath of animation to stir their dry bones. To Buddhist priests is due the initiative in a movement which ultimately became a useful means of familiarising the masses with the salient events of their country's history. The priests, however, had no such purpose at the outset. The new rôle that they struck out, in the early years of the fourteenth century, aimed solely at opening to Japanese aristocrats the pages of China's warlike annals. Alike in literature and in the art of war the Buddhist friars of mediæval Japan were the repositories of knowledge, the great majority of the *samurai* knowing only how to fight. Thus there occurred to a learned abbot (Genkei)

the idea of critically expounding the military classics of the Middle Kingdom to patrician audiences at the Imperial Court, and the innovation attracted wide favour and patronage. More than two hundred and fifty years elapsed, however, before a popular character was given to these lectures. A *samurai* (Goto Matabei Mototsugu), who had himself figured conspicuously in the warlike pageant of his time but had fallen into a state of poverty, took his stand one day within the enclosure of the Temma Tenjin temple in Kyōtō at a time of festival, and, as a bread-earning resource, entertained the worshippers with vivid accounts of the scenes in which he had borne a part. He quickly found an enthusiastic audience, as well as numerous imitators among the *rōnin*, or soldiers of fortune, who, not owing allegiance to any feudal chief, and being without a fixed source of income, were glad to turn their hands to any profitable pursuit that did not involve a connection with vulgar trade. Gradually, by steps which need not be traced, these *raconteurs* (*koshaku-shi*) became a recognised class; established halls (*yose*) for delivering their narratives or readings; divided themselves into various schools distinguished by special oratorical methods; devoted their whole lives to the cultivation of their art, and developed a style to which the possession of very high merits must be conceded. Nothing can be simpler than the method of these experts. Seated on the mats before a

species of lectern and armed with a fan and a small flat baton of paper, the *koshaku-shi* carries his audience with him through scenes where all the passions that sway humanity are pourtrayed with admirable force and fidelity. Petty adjuncts as the fan and the paper baton seem, the uses that they serve are extensive. A hesitating poise of the half-opened fan introduces the audience at once to some mood of coyness or expectancy; a graceful sweep of its full spread surface invokes the presence of summer airs, moonlight dancers, or stately ladies; the sharp snap of its suddenly folded ribs suggests fateful resolve or exhausted patience; now its crescent rises slowly in unison with the growth of some sound of menace or the march of some disaster's prelude; now it sinks as hope dies or the power of resistance fades from some hero's arm in mortal peril; and when the tale begins to climb to a crisis, the baton beats out a swift sharp note of warning on the wooden lectern, its startled raps growing quicker as incident crowds upon incident, until the rush and rattle of the armed combat, the din and confusion of the mêlée, the crash of the catastrophe, seem to be actually reproduced before the eyes of the audience. The *koshaku-shi* uses no book. The stories that he has to tell are not fully recorded in any public document, nor can absolute historical accuracy be claimed for them. The figures that move through the drama and the cardinal incidents are historical; all the en-

vironment is in accurate consonance with the customs of the epoch; but the skill of the *raconteur* or of his predecessors — for these tales are handed down as family heirlooms — adds a large margin of picturesque, the sensational and the imaginary. Yet there can be no doubt about the service these men render in familiarising the masses with the characters and events of the national history, as well as with the social, administrative, and military canons of by-gone ages. The magnitude of the educational work they accomplish may be inferred from the fact that in Tōkyō alone they number over three hundred, divided into twelve schools, each tracing its origin to some celebrated expert, the originator of a special style, and that their repertoire of subjects includes eight sections, —accounts of commotions raised by treacherous clansmen in feudal families, accounts of momentous local interferences by the central administration, accounts of vendettas, accounts of famous judicial decisions, biographies of renowned heroes, lives of redressers of popular wrongs, journalistic records, and critical *résumés* of contemporary events.

A rival or colleague of the *koshaku-shi* is the "talker" (*hanashi-ka*), or "fugitive-words-man" (*rakugo-ka*),[1] who differs from the *raconteur* only in the lighter character of the subjects he chooses and in the prominence that he gives to the humorous side of his performance. The founder[2]

[1] See Appendix, note 34. [2] See Appendix, note 35.

of this school does not belong to a very remote era (1600 A. D.) and is remembered now chiefly for the sake of eight volumes of wit and humour, the first of their kind, compiled by him at the age of seventy. Society had opened its arms to him as a master of the dilettanteism known as *cha-no-yu* (the tea-clubs' cult), before it recognised him as a humourist, but in the end the most stately circles of aristocrats resigned themselves to laugh with him, and with a scarcely less celebrated contemporary whose extemporised songs suggested or supplemented the wit of the master. Succeeding generations did not neglect these models. Not merely an exceptional fund of humour and large powers of mimicry, but also considerable erudition was needed for the successful pursuit of the *rakugo-ka's* career, and though it formerly ranked below that of the *koshaku-shi*, the differentiation is scarcely perceptible in modern times. Often its votaries are broken-down gentlemen whose excesses have exhausted their fortunes, but much oftener they are men of no mean literary capacity, who can weave the events of their time into narratives where tragedy and comedy play equally artistic parts. For the rest, what has been written above about the *koshaku-shi's* earnings and his performance applies equally to the *rakugo-ka*. But the latter takes his subjects from the realm of romance or every-day life, and does not seek to inspire his audience with any higher sentiments than sympathy and merriment. It

would be difficult to decide whether he or the *koshaku-shi* is the greater artist. Both are certainly great, and each is without parallel in any other country.[1]

To speak of a *yose* as a "hall" is to suggest a somewhat exaggerated idea of its quality and arrangements. A ruder or more comfortless place could scarcely be conceived, — the building rough and totally undecorated; the floor covered with mats but not divided into compartments; the gallery equally without redeeming feature except a semblance of privacy; the dais for the performers slightly elevated but entirely without ornamentation or scenic background. Such is the *yose*. A visitor, whatever his degree, pays an entrance fee varying from two and one-half to six *sen*, makes a further disbursement of half a *sen* for the hire of a cushion, and, thus equipped, seats himself wherever he can find floor-space. If the weather be cold, he spends a *sen* and a half on a brazier to be laid beside his cushion, and it still remains possible to squander the same sum on a pot of tea and a tiny drinking-cup, though economical folks find tea at one *sen* sufficiently palatable. Thus a total outlay of nine and one-half *sen* may be compassed, the return for which is from three to four hours' entertainment. The *raconteur* and the humourist are not the only performers. There are also experts in recitative (*joruri*), in juggling, in puppet playing, and some-

[1] See Appendix, note 36.

times in dancing or music. In Tōkyō alone there are a hundred and eighty *yose*. The law gives itself little concern about them, except to interdict any displays injurious to public morals, and to post a supervising constable in each hall. They accommodate a total of about forty thousand people, and if each had a full audience, the aggregate expenditure of the whole one hundred and eighty on account of entrance fees, cushion hire, brazier borrowing, and tea-drinking, would be some twelve hundred American dollars a night. So cheaply do the citizens of the Japanese capital take their pleasure.

Out of the mimetic dances so popular in Japan it may be supposed that the histrionic art would have grown at an early era, and that its development would have been rapid. Facts do not endorse such an inference. The drama proper was, indeed, born of the mimetic dance, but its nativity was curiously belated, and that it was born at all seems to have been, in great part, the result of accident. Many writers have been content to dismiss the subject with the curt remark that the Japanese theatre is of Chinese origin, and that the passage of the institution from one country to the other must be classed among the fortuitous incidents of neighbourly intercourse. But there are obstacles to the acceptance of that superficial view. In the days when the Ashikaga Shogunate was at the zenith of its power, the theatre had not yet made its appearance in Japan despite

the long and, at times, intimate intercourse that had existed with China. The mimetic dances already spoken of under the general name of *no* were, however, in wide vogue, and elaborate arrangements for their performance on occasions of festivals existed in several of the great temples. They served, in short, not merely as an aristocratic pastime, but also as a means of replenishing the coffers of the shrines. A little later than the middle of the sixteenth century, the national shrine of Izumo was found to be in need of costly repairs, and one of its vestals (*miko*), O-Kuni, an exceptionally skilled dancer, whose posturing in the *kagura* (sacred dance) at times of worship had become famous, undertook to visit Kyōtō for the purpose of enlisting assistance. She danced before the *Shōgun* Yoshiteru, and pleased him so much that he issued orders for the repair of the shrine. There the story might have ended and the evolution of the Japanese drama might have been indefinitely postponed had not a very old-fashioned element come upon the scene. Among the retainers of the *Shōgun* was one Nagoya Sanzaemon, whose duties consisted in superintending the arrangements for court festivities. Sanzaemon and O-Kuni fell in love with one another; their liaison was discovered, and they were dismissed from the *Shōgun's* service. The woman's wit suggested that they should earn a livelihood by practising in public the accomplishments they had acquired at the

shrine and in the *Shōgun's* court, and thus they took to dancing on the sward of a common which may be seen to-day by any one visiting Kyōtō and making his way to Kitano Shiba-wara (the Kitano moor). The name given to the scene of their performance and still used in the sense of "theatre" — *shibai*, or the sward (*shiba*) seat (*i*)[1] — perpetuates its rustic beginnings. O-Kuni's dance before the *Shōgun* had been the immemorial *Ama-no-iwa-to*, the mythological deities inviting the Sun Goddess to emerge from her cave. What modifications she introduced for popular purposes it is impossible now to determine. The main fact is that she and her husband converted the mimetic dance from a religious rite or an aristocratic pastime into a bread-earning profession, and thus laid the foundation of the theatre. History is accurate enough to tell something about O-Kuni's favourite costume — a wide-brimmed lacquer hat, a red rain-coat, a string of beads about her neck, — and also that she often took the rôle of a man, assigning the female part to her husband, while one Densuke acted as buffoon. They had an immense success, and found many imitators, but always among the lowest elements of the population. The Kyōtō *filles de joie* seem to have thought this kind of enterprise[2] especially suited to their station and capacities. At the initiative of the still remembered Sadoshima Masakichi, they erected a stage

[1] See Appendix, note 37. [2] See Appendix, note 38.

in the dry bed of the river, and thus received the name "river-bed folk" (*kawara-mono*), an epithet significant of the contempt in which their profession was held. Sadoshima and her troupe, now including a number of performers of both sexes, made their way to Yedo at the beginning of the seventeenth century. But if they had any hope of improving their status by this change of location, events disappointed them. Within the crowded precincts of the "eastern capital" not even a river-bed offered space for their purpose, and they were obliged to betake themselves to the degraded quarter, — a suburb which had just sprung up on a site previously overgrown with reeds, the notorious *Yoshiwara* (reed-moor) of modern times. Thus the reputation of the new enterprise sank still lower, and, by and by, the conduct of the *danseuses* — whose number had now grown to nearly a hundred and fifty — being deemed injurious to public morals, the law stepped in and interdicted their performance. This happened in the year 1643. It was an event of great moment to the development of the histrionic art in Japan, for from that time actresses were never permitted to perform in company with actors, and it became necessary that the female rôles should be taken by men. Apparently such a veto should have proved a serious obstacle, but in truth its effect was small. From the days of Genzaemon, a skilled musician and dancer who went from Kyōtō to Yedo in the middle of the seven-

teenth century, carrying with him a wardrobe of female finery and astounding his contemporaries by his perfect studies of feminine ways, the playing of women's parts by men has been carried to an extraordinary degree of excellence. It happens again and again that the deception is so perfect as to defy the closest scrutiny. Even to those fully cognisant that mixed acting has not yet been introduced, it is sometimes impossible to believe that an innovation of that kind has not been effected. All the indescribable graces and subtle refinements of feminine deportment are reproduced with absolute fidelity, and it becomes easy to credit an assertion often made by persons familiar with the "green room," that such results are obtained only by acting the woman till the simulation becomes unconscious, and is preserved as faithfully in every-day life as on the stage.[1] It may be added here that although the old interdict no longer holds, the exclusive custom still prevails. Actresses there are, — two or three companies, — but their moral reputation is of the worst, and it is thought that their admission to the stage proper would sink it again to the low level from which it has barely begun to rise. Thus the *onna-shibai* (women's theatre) remains a thing apart, and until a new generation of *artistes* are specially educated, the ban of ostracism will continue in force. But these comments depart from the sequence of history. It is a con-

[1] See Appendix, note 39.

fused history, if Japanese records be followed; a history in which the growth of the drama itself has no concern for the narrator in comparison with the biographies of individual performers and the vicissitudes of their enterprise. By the middle of the seventeenth century the student finds a term [1] employed which indicates that the histrionic element of the dance had assumed prominence, but it may be broadly stated that until the early years of the eighteenth century theatrical performances were only a special variety of the mimes already described under the name of *no-kyogen* and popularised as *kabuki*. The dancers, by gesture and facial expression, pourtrayed the motives and sentiments attributed to them by a chorus of singers, but remained always mute themselves. Marionette shows had much to do with the development of the true drama. Their use in association with music and song dated from about the year 1605, and gradually attained such a degree of elaboration that the task of composing puppet plays began to occupy the attention of men of letters. Early in the eighteenth century two dramatists, Chikamatsu Monzaemon and Takeda Izumo, adapted for the marionette stage celebrated historical incidents, like the vendetta of the Forty-seven *Rōnin*, and the expulsion of the Dutch from Formosa by the pirate King Kokusen-ya (known in European annals as Coxinga). These men were the fathers

[1] See Appendix, note 40.

of the Japanese drama, and it is a noteworthy fact that their talent as playwrights was without precedent in its time, and has remained without peer ever since. The magnificent costumes of the marionettes were adopted by the actors; wigs took the place of the kerchiefs previously wrapped round the head; scenery was added, and at last the drama reached its present stage of development.

This skeleton record has a value not merely historical: it brings into prominence the two factors that have chiefly operated in the development of the Japanese drama, namely, that the performances took place originally in the open air, and that they had a choragic accompaniment. A necessary result of the former was that the dais where the acting had its focus did not constitute the limits of the stage. Instead of emerging from mysterious regions behind doors or partitions, the performers, throughout the whole course of their comings and goings, remained under the eyes of the audience. The very rudiments of art prescribed such a method in the case of dancing, for motion, to be perfectly musical, must be smooth and continuous: the dancer must enter the field of vision without any violent transition from rest to activity. Hence it was quickly understood that he must dance to the dais, and out of that canon grew the idea of making a route from the back of the auditorium to the stage. It was appropriately bounded by

lines of blossoms, and thus received the name "flower path" (*hana-michi*). Another result of the *al-fresco* performance was that the environment of the stage had to be included in the scenic *ensemble*. The stage became merely a part of a general scheme of decoration in which not only the auditorium, but also the whole space within the range of the spectator's vision, was comprised. At first the dancers set up a dais wherever space was conveniently available; no special steps were taken to provide accommodation for the audience. But by and by a semicircular platform was erected for the better classes of spectators. This innovation is perpetuated in the nomenclature of the theatre, for inasmuch as "dead heads" made a habit of peeping at the performance through the scaffolding that supported the platform, they received the name of *uzura* (quails), in allusion to their stooping posture, and by that name the portion of the auditorium immediately below the gallery continues to be called to-day. From the erection of this crescent of seats to the complete enclosure of the place of performance, and the building of a permanent hall, progress was natural and quick. The theatre assumed a form which has varied little during the past century. There is a pit, divided into a number of little cubicals with matted floors, where the people sit, *more Japonico*; there are tiers of boxes on either side; there is a broad corridor at the

back, and, to the right and left of the stage, there are elevated boxes for the chorus and the reciters, who are almost concealed from the audience by bamboo blinds. All these arrangements are simple and somewhat rude: the comfort of the spectator is little consulted. The stage revolves. How and when that excellent idea occurred to the Japanese, there is no evidence. They did not get it from China or India, and it can scarcely have come to them through ancient Grecian traditions. The element of naturalness and realism that it adds to the performance cannot be overestimated. It doubles the scope of the representation. The outside of a house is shown, and so is everything that passes outside by way of preliminary to what is about to occur within. Then the stage revolves, and the same actors appear in the indoor scene. Elaborations of such a facility are innumerable and will be easily conceived without detailed description. The "flower road" is an important adjunct. An underground passage enables the actor to get from the back of the stage to a point behind the auditorium, whence he emerges on the *hana-michi*, and makes his way through the audience to the stage. He is acting all the while — perhaps conferring with a companion as to the course to be pursued when they reach their destination, perhaps stealing along to effect a surprise, perhaps hesitating about the welcome that awaits him, perhaps

lingering in the reluctance of a final farewell. The effect is not merely to enhance the realism and deepen the interest, but also to make the whole audience participate in the action of the drama, and to enable accessory incidents to be developed simultaneously with the unfolding of the central plot. A similar extension of dramatic capabilities results from the choragic adjunct. On the stage of the Occident, dialogue, monologue, or a "situation" is always necessary. That vast domain of every-day life where the lips are silent, though the mental preludes or consequences of important events are in full progress, cannot be shown without violating truth. The performer is obliged to think aloud, even though breathless silence be prescribed by all the probabilities of the scene. He has to interrupt the action of the plot in order to take the audience into his confidence; in order to unveil sentiments which, did they really control his acts, would never tolerate such interruptions. The Japanese method does not compel speech to play that exaggerated and unnatural part in the drama of life. Monologues are not sanctioned unless the situation is such as to evoke them naturally. Sometimes a great part of a scene takes place without any interchange of words or any use of speech by the actors. They confine themselves to depicting moods or performing acts which the choragic reciter explains. The pantomime is admirable; occasionally a little exag-

gerated, but reaching, on the whole, to an extraordinarily high standard of mimetic art. That is the natural result of a system which assigns as much importance to the mimetic side of the drama as to the spoken. It is probably safe to affirm that the Japanese are the greatest mimics in the world.

There is, however, one feature which contrasts strangely with this obedience to the verities. The mechanics of the drama are suffered to obtrude themselves upon public observation through the medium of stage attendants. These persons, draped and veiled in "invisible" colours, are appropriately called "blacks" (*kurombo*). They openly assist at the intricate transformations of costume occasionally demanded by the progress of the play, and they clear the stage of encumbrances which, in an Occidental theatre, would necessitate a tableau and fall of the curtain. Thus a veiled figure may be seen, now aiding a dancer to emerge, chrysalis-like, from a sombre surcoat into a butterfly robe; now holding a little curtain of black cloth between the audience and a supposed corpse while the latter removes itself. Such discordant notes destroy the realistic harmony of the general action. They are, as will readily be conjectured, defects that have descended from the days of marionettes, and within the past few years they have almost disappeared.

In speaking of the Japanese drama a very notable point has to be recorded: the same plays

have held the stage for much more than a century. There would be a parallel in the West if English theatres had confined themselves to Shakespeare ever since the publication of his works. The Japanese generally knows beforehand exactly what he is to see at the theatre, and knows that his father and his grandfather saw the same piece. New dramatists are now beginning to make their appearance, but the old may be said to occupy the field still. Thus the value that attaches to the skill of the actors cannot be overestimated. There are farces, of course, —"gossip-plays" (*sewa-kyogen*), as they are called, —but they serve chiefly to relieve the tension of the drama, and are usually played between the acts of the latter. It must be confessed that until modern times Japanese comedy was distinctly broad. It sometimes employed materials that are banished from the daylight of Western decorum, and derived inspiration from incidents that would shock fastidious delicacy in Europe. But these blemishes were usually softened by an atmosphere of naturalness and simplicity. They did not indicate moral debasement such as would accompany similar absence of reserve in a Western country. To interpret them in that manner would have been to mistake artlessness for obscenity. As reasonably might one confound the undisguised diction of the Pentateuch with the prurient coarseness of "Love in a Wood" or "The Country Wife." If Japanese comedy had

much in common with the works of Juvenal and Aristophanes, it seldom recalled Wycherley or Congreve. If it sometimes raised a laugh at the grosser phases of life, it scarcely ever became a vehicle for presenting to public imagination the immoral in company with the attractive. And the new civilisation may be said to have purged it of all evil elements. In modern Japan a year's advance represents, in many cases, a decade of progress. The present generation of Japanese are probably as far removed from the license of *pre-Meiji* days as the English of our era are from the indecencies of "The Rake's Progress" and "Tristram Shandy."

The social status of the actor has not yet been appreciably raised. The theatre, indeed, is no longer avoided by the upper classes, but only as a point of special complaisance do they occasionally admit the stars of the stage to their company. In no small degree the actor himself is responsible for this anomaly. With little hope of improving his station, he pays little heed to the obligations of respectability. He apparently thinks that a vicious life cannot add much to the disabilities under which he already labours. At the same time fate, with its usual waywardness, impels the professional *danseuse* (*geisha*) to seek in the actor's unconventional society solace for the orderly services that she is obliged to render in aristocratic circles whence the actor is ostracised. With these "butterflies of the banquet," the ob-

ject of making money is generally to spend it on an actor. One can easily guess how it fares with the actor in the absence of social restraint and in the presence of such strong temptation. Besides, he has not even the solace of knowing that worldly prosperity will reward his talents. His pecuniary recompense, indeed, has ceased to be small. It has always been and still is the rule that a play should run for at least twenty-three days. Very often, of course, the period is extended. For such a term the emoluments of Ichikawa Danjuro, incomparably the greatest actor of his era, are twenty-five hundred *yen*. If, however, he has played in an exceptionally arduous rôle, an additional honorarium of from two to three thousand *yen* is given. There are some seven performances yearly. Thus Danjuro's annual income is from ten to fifteen thousand gold dollars. Out of that total, however, he has to disburse large sums for the hire of his costumes, which are not provided by the theatre, and for the support of pupils (*deshi*) who constitute a kind of society to promote his influence and perpetuate his style. Moreover, the unwritten law of the actor's profession requires that he should live on a scale of lavish expenditure. Apart from the tendency that his art educates to court public notice by magnificent ostentation, there is an instinctive resort to that agreeable method of self-advertisement, and there is also an unconfessed but powerful desire

to prove that fortune favours him, though aristocrats are unkind. Thus the comings and goings of great actors partake of the nature of royal progresses. They never descend to the rôle of a humble citizen. Everywhere they carry the stage with them, and whether they visit a spa in the dog-days, or take an evening's outing on a river, or organise a picnic to view "snow flowers," or go on a fishing expedition, or stay at home, they are always acting the *grand seigneur* in fact as well as in fashion. The inimitable Danjuro, indeed, departs somewhat from these extravagances, and it is just to add that he is a conspicuous exception to the common rule of licentious living. But, on the whole, the actor and his art alike suffer from abuses which are, perhaps, the inevitable outgrowth of an unhonoured employment. The lessee of a theatre is at the mercy of a capitalist; the actor, at that of the property man. The lessee generally has no capital but his official license; the capitalist has a list of the theatre's liabilities, contracted some in the present some in the past, and usually aggregating a sum beyond all reasonable possibility of liquidation. The bulk of the theatrical wardrobe is owned by merciless monopolists who extort the last *sen* for the use of a costume. From the capitalist the lessee receives, at each representation, just enough money to defray current expenses, and for that accommodation he is required not merely to repay the advance, but also

to set aside from the takings interest at the rate of thirty or forty per cent. Thus actor and lessee alike are weighted by a heavy load of debt. That theatrical enterprise should show little vitality under such circumstances is natural. An attempt has indeed been made to improve the stage, the scenery, and the equipment of the house, but the results have not been so successful as to warrant the extension of the effort beyond one theatre. The low status of the profession is still glaringly displayed in meagre scenery, rough wooden buildings, and accommodation of the crudest and most comfortless description. Only at the one theatre just spoken of, the *Shintomi-za*, or "New-wealth theatre," has the custom of holding representations that last from morning till evening been cut down by a moiety. The waste of time thus entailed and the unwholesome effects of sitting for so many hours in a crowded, ill-ventilated building are not the only evil features of the habit. People who spend the day looking at a play must be provided with meals, and out of that necessity there springs up around the theatre a little city of restaurants and tea-houses, all adding to the costliness of the entertainment and subtracting from the productive capacity of the nation. The theatre, in fact, has not shared the general progress of modern Japan. Yet it certainly has a great future before it, for, in addition to the unique features described above, there is histrionic capacity of the very highest order.

Ichikawa Danjuro and Onoye Kikugoro, the princes of the stage at present, would long ago have earned a world-wide reputation had their lot been cast in any Western country. There cannot be any second opinion about their capacities, or about their title to rank with the great tragedians of the world. But in their own country, though their names are household words, the taint of their profession clings to them still. Men speak of them as a ballet-dancer of extraordinary agility or a banjo-player of eminent skill would be spoken of in Europe or America, — renowned exponents of a renownless art.

The observances of the twelfth month, the "last child" (*otogo*) of the year, remain to be noticed. Its opening day brings once more upon the scene the perennial rice dumpling, now eaten by all that go down to the sea in ships, a charm against perils of wave and flood. The part played by this particular comestible in Japanese religious rites and ceremonies doubtless excites the reader's curiosity. It is the sacred bread of the nation, but it owes its exalted character to nothing more mysterious than its circular shape, a type of the mirror used to entice the wayward Sun Goddess from her cave in the days of the beginning of all things. In the cities these quaint customs are gradually fading from public sight, but some of them are preserved from oblivion by the motives that they furnish to artists. Probably no collection of Japanese objects of virtu is without three

or four representations, in wood, ivory, or bronze, of the *tsuina*, or demon-expelling ceremony. In the artist's hands it takes the form of a devil flying from a shower of beans directed against him by a householder in gala costume. The whole ceremony, as practised by the people, is sufficiently depicted by this brief description. On the last night of the old year, the night that divides (*setsubun*) winter from spring, parched beans are scattered about the house, with repeated utterance of the formula "Out devils, enter fortune" (*oni soto fuku uchi*). There was a time when this rite was performed in the Imperial Court on an imposing scale. Four bands of twenty youths, each wearing a four-eyed mask, a black surcoat, and a red body garment, and each carrying a halberd in the left hand, marched simultaneously from the four gates of the Palace, driving the devils before them. A great plague at the beginning of the eighth century suggested the need of this ceremony, and China furnished the programme; but modern Japan is content to bombard with beans the sprite of ill-luck, trusting bacteriologists to exorcise the imps of pestilence. Some of the ancient customs, however, have not changed with the times. Industrious women still make offerings of broken needles at the temple of Awashima on the 8th of the month, and still abstain from all sewing on that day. In every home there is still a grand "smut sweeping" (*susuharai*,) sometimes on the 13th, some-

times at the close, of the month. "Feasts of year-forgetting" (*bonen-kai*) are still organised to dispel regrets for the death of another span of life; and in the shadows of the tutelary deities' temples and shrines night fairs are still held, to which the people throng in vast crowds to buy pines of perennial verdure, lobsters of longevity, ropes of sweet airs, and all the other decorative adjuncts of the season, as well as battle-boards for little girls and kites for boys. The fairs themselves are festivals, — bright landmarks in the lives of the young, revivals of fond memories for the old.

Chapter IV

THE HISTORY OF COMMERCE IN JAPAN

ACCURATE information relating to the origin and development of commerce in the opening centuries of the State's existence is very scanty. The positions of the principal markets seem to have been fixed from a time as remote as the third century of the Christian era — the tenth of the Japanese dynasty, — but the dimensions of commerce were evidently insignificant, inasmuch as only one market is mentioned in each reign until the Nara epoch (709–784 A.D.), when the list extends to five places in central Japan and two on the northeastern and southwestern coasts, respectively. Incidental evidence is furnished of the existence of itinerant traders, or pedlars, for in the fifth century one of the Island-sea provinces is said to have been the haunt of a pirate whose raids upon travelling merchants were sufficiently notorious to entitle him to a place in history. Beyond these meagre facts there are no materials for constructing the story of trade in remote times.

The annals become a little more distinct from the beginning of the eighth century, which opened with the remarkable series of administrative and legislative changes traditionally known as the "*Taihō* Reform." In the system thus organised the Minister of Finance was charged with the functions of providing for periodical inspections of weights and measures, for superintendence of sales and for valuation of commodities, while to other officials was entrusted the duty of controlling shops, stores, and all commercial institutions. Each market was placed under the direction of a headman, who not only presided over its affairs, but also had the responsibility of examining the weights and measures used as well as the quality of the coins circulated, and fixing the prices which dealers were entitled to ask. All through the history of Japanese trade there is evidence of this tendency on the part of officialdom to deprive tradesmen of the right to appraise the selling rates of their own commodities. The market headman of the eighth century had to divide into three classes the goods offered for sale, and to set a limit to the price of each class. He had also to examine all swords, saddles, and lacquer wares to see that each bore the name of its manufacturer, and to order the withdrawal of any article which failed to comply with the regulations as to dimensions or superscription. With the exception of purchases made on behalf of the Government, every transaction had to be effected

within the bounds of the market; the name of the purchaser had to be proclaimed, and any attempt to charge a price higher than the fixed rate, or any other violation of rule, involved confiscation of the goods. The men's and women's quarters of the market were strictly separated; over each stall the name of its keeper had to be eligibly posted; the market was opened exactly at noon and closed at sunset by a signal consisting of three beats on a drum. Already, even at this early era, a derogatory character appears to have been attached to transactions of commerce, for it was enacted that no prince of the blood nor any nobleman of or above the fifth official rank might send articles into the market for sale by a servant of his own.

These regulations suggest a well-ordered and strictly supervised system, but show also that officialdom usurped a right of arbitrary interference, based on the doctrine that the people's reward for the products of their labour must be regulated primarily with regard to the convenience of the ruling classes.

That commerce with China and Korea was carried on prior to the eighth century cannot be doubted. Two harbours in the southern island of the Empire are mentioned as places of entry for foreign ships; and these ports were under the control of officials whose functions resembled those of superintendent of customs. Foreign trade, however, was regarded as a legitimate field

for governmental monopoly, all over-sea goods being purchased in the first instance by officials and subsequently sold to the people, who exposed themselves to the penalty of having their acquisitions confiscated if they attempted to conclude any independent bargains. No restriction was placed upon the travel of foreigners in the interior, but they were required to have their baggage passed by the duly appointed officials, and were strictly forbidden to purchase weapons of war from the inhabitants.

Looking to the facts that, according to the system introduced in the eighth century, all weights and measures used in the capital, whether officially or privately, had to be submitted for examination at the Finance Department in March, each year, and that those employed in the provinces were tested by the local governors, it might be inferred that these things were regulated in accordance with scientific and approved principles. But the Japanese never showed any intelligent originality in such matters. They were either primitive or imitative. Their indigenous methods of measurement were three: the "span" (*atari*), or greatest distance that could be covered between the tips of the thumb and middle finger; the "grasp" (*tsuka*), or greatest circumference that could be encircled by the hand; and the stretch (*hiro*), or width across the extended arms. Intercourse with China and Korea, however, must have familiarised them with the weights

and measures of those countries at an early date. China is said to have sent weaving experts in the fifth century, and since architects at the same epoch were sufficiently celebrated to find a place in history, it is probable that some fixed unit of length was recognised. The matter is removed from the region of conjecture in the seventh century, when two units are known to have been in use, one borrowed from China, the other from Korea. Both approximated very closely to the English foot, the Chinese being a fraction shorter than the foot and the Korean a fraction longer. Ultimately, however, the Korean measure ceased to be employed, and the Chinese went into sole use, though the change did not greatly simplify matters, for not only were there two kinds of Chinese foot, but also, in the absence of a fixed standard, the dimensions of each varied considerably. Measures of capacity and weight appear to have been equally unscientific. At first the unit for corn was a bundle consisting of a certain number of stalks, but ultimately the Chinese system was adopted, in which the unit of weight was a *momme* (the one-hundred-and-twentieth part of a pound avoirdupois); and the unit of capacity a *go*, of which ten made a *sho*, one hundred a *to*, and one thousand a *koku* (5.73 bushels). Several square vessels of varying capacity are preserved in ancient temples as representatives of the measuring boxes of different epochs.

In remote times sales, in the ordinary sense of

the term, did not take place. All transactions of commerce were in the nature of barter. It is difficult to determine the era when media of exchange began to be generally used. The chronicles of the semi-mythical Empress Jingo (201 A.D.) allege that among the spoils carried by her from Korea were coins in the shape of a bird. But these curiosities remain a mere tradition. Not until the year 485 A.D. do silver coins seem to have served as tokens of exchange. They were not in common use, however. The Japanese did not possess stores of precious metal sufficient for purposes of currency. There were no mines in the country. Whenever gold or silver came across the sea in the form of gifts or tribute from China or Korea, the casting of idols suggested itself as the natural use for such rare and beautiful metals, and if they were not devoted to that pious end, they served as personal ornaments, or were employed in the decorative arts. Not until 675 A.D. was silver discovered within the Japanese realm. The island of Tsushima furnished it, and of the first supply forwarded to the Government portions were offered to the gods, — which means, of course, that they came into the possession of the priests, — the rest being distributed among officials and men of rank. The discovery of copper followed that of silver by twenty-three years, and, at the close of the seventh century, a mint was established where, according to the records, coins of gold, silver,

copper, and iron were struck, though it must be noted that neither the silver nor the gold tokens were made from metal produced in Japan. From a commercial point of view it may be said that the first coinage operations took place during the *Wado* era (708 A.D.), and that the tokens then struck were almost entirely of copper. A silver piece was, indeed, issued, but in quantity too limited to affect general transactions of trade. Interesting and suggestive measures were adopted by the authorities to put an end to the method of barter hitherto in vogue, and to induce the people to accept the new coins as media of exchange, measures evidently dictated by economical principles of Chinese origin. One imperial edict urged farmers and merchants to appraise their products and commodities in terms of the new tokens, of which the unit was a *mon* (*cash*), and promised that steps of official rank should be given to persons who accumulated stores of copper *cash*; a second made the possession of a fortune of six thousand *cash* an essential preliminary to promotion in office; a third directed that land sales effected by process of barter, and not by transfer of coin, would involve confiscation of the land; a fourth ordered travellers to carry a stock of coin instead of a store of goods for defraying the expenses of their journey; and a fifth enacted that taxes might be received in coin instead of in kind. Such legislation was quickly followed by the consequences that might natur-

ally have been expected. Scarcely ninety years had elapsed before the Government found it necessary to prohibit the hoarding of *cash*, and to remind the agricultural class that, in the event of a bad harvest, coins could not be cooked and eaten. But the propensity to hoard had already become epidemic. Another decree quickly followed, declaring that any person who concealed coins and paid his taxes in kind, would have his store of *cash* confiscated, one-fifth of the amount being promised to an informer. All through the history of these early centuries the arbitrariness and the embarrassments of Japan's empirical financiers may be traced. The people, of frugal habits and generally in humble circumstances, had little use for exchange media of large denominations. They did not want gold or silver coins, except to a very limited extent, and could not have procured them, for the mintage of such tokens was insignificant. When a merchant came into possession of either gold or silver, he paid it out by weight, cutting it into parallelograms of the required size; and in later times — from the eleventh to the sixteenth century — all coinage operations being interrupted by domestic troubles, the precious metals were exported to China to purchase copper tokens, for which alone any really wide use existed. While the mint worked, it turned out from five and one-half to one and three-fourths millions of copper *cash* annually, — figures whose difference indicates not

merely the variable output of the mines, but also the prime importance attached in those eras to the worship of heaven. For the chief demand for copper being in connection with the casting of idols, it resulted that the quantity available for coinage purposes depended largely upon the fervour of the Court's piety, or the need of invoking heaven's aid in some national crisis. Religious zeal thus became responsible for the earliest debasement of the coinage. During the first hundred years of minting operations, the weight of the copper unit varied within comparatively narrow limits in five issues. But the business of erecting temples and peopling them with images of the gods attained such extraordinary dimensions during the whole of the Nara epoch and the opening years of the Heian that the Government, finding the supply of copper inadequate and the treasury exhausted, resorted to the device of debasing the coinage, and the weight of copper in the unit suddenly fell by nearly fifty per cent. Another scheme was to strike special coins to which arbitrary values were given far in excess of their intrinsic values as compared with the unit. The perplexity and confusion resulting from these financial vagaries were, of course, very great. Even apart from such technical irregularities, it must have been exceedingly difficult to conduct tradal transactions with copper coins only. Money-bags were used and boxes; but a hand-cart was the usual means of transporting

these *cash*, which were strung on ropes of straw with knots dividing them into hundreds and thousands. It will readily be conceived that the coins themselves were not high specimens of minting technique. The ideographs entering into their superscriptions had generally the honour of being moulded after a copy traced by some renowned or princely calligraphist, but the mint appliances were rude, and from time to time merchants exercised their judgment so far as to reject defaced coins, or accept them at greatly reduced values,—discrimination which the Emperor Saga (820 A.D.) checked by flogging the fastidious trader, his Majesty's theory being that the tenderer of a coin was not responsible for its condition or quality, and should not be exposed to the risk of a reduced dinner or a curtailed coat because the disc of the token happened to be serrated or its superscription illegible.

Probably in the Government's defective and dishonest coinage is to be found one of the causes which contributed to blunt what philosophers have called "the commercial conscience" in Japan. In the realm where strict integrity was conspicuously essential to the safe conduct of tradal affairs, an example of selfish unscrupulousness was set by those to whom the people were naturally entitled to look for standards of morality. Incidentally history here pays a tribute to the Chinaman's superior appreciation of the value of commercial probity, for the copper coins obtained

by Japan from her neighbour were always intrinsically more trustworthy than those struck by herself, and the people showed their appreciation of the fact by circulating the former at four times the exchange value of the latter. Strenuous efforts were made by the Government to prevent such discrimination. It seems to have been regarded as a species of *lèse-majesté* that a farmer or a trader, a "common fellow," should venture to prefer a foreign coin to a domestic, or, in the matter of Japanese tokens, should exercise a right of choice between pieces which, whatever their variations of intrinsic value, were uniformly franked by sovereign sanction. Of course the victory ultimately rested with the people. Many were scarred in the fight, and carried to their graves stigmata branded on their cheeks by official irons; others paid the penalty of three days' exposure on the public highway, and had the chagrin of seeing every member of their village fined for their sin of "shroffing." But in Tokugawa days the Government abandoned the fight, and Chinese *cash* were definitely recognised as possessing four times the value of their Japanese contemporaries.

Many notices of the price officially fixed for rice are found in the old chronicles. Almost without exception it was one *cash* (*mon*) per *go*, or a thousand *cash* per *koku*. This very convenient assessment at once suggests an important fact; namely, that rice itself was a standard of value.

That was the case down to the latest times. Taxes were originally levied in the form of a percentage of the gross produce of a farm. Then, when, copper having been discovered here and there throughout the Empire, supplies of it became desirable for minting purposes, the Government enacted that taxes might be paid in that metal; a change obviously necessitating official assessment of the *koku* in terms of *cash*. Fiscal convenience dictated the simplest possible assessment, so the *koku* was declared to represent one *kwan* (1,000 *cash*), and its thousandth subdivision, the *go*, became the equivalent of one *cash*. Of course nature, capricious in a subtropical country like Japan, did not lend constant sanction to such an arbitrarily fixed value. Sometimes a *koku* of rice sold in the open market for nearly twice the official assessment, and once, in time of famine (867 A.D.), it rose to eight times that figure. But even as late as the era of the Vice-regents of Kamakura (1230) the Government, maintaining its theoretical independence of storms and inundations, clung to the old assessment of one *go* for one *mon*, and up to comparatively modern times the official figure corresponded approximately with the true market measure. A labourer in Japan is credited with capacity to consume five *go* (one and one-half pints) of rice daily; a man of refined habits is allowed three *go*. It is thus seen that a thousand *cash* purchased from two hundred to three hun-

dred and thirty-three days' supply of rice for an adult.

It is generally found, in comparing ancient times with modern, that the advantage is on the side of the former in cheapness of living. The opposite appears to have been the case in Japan. During the eighth century the ten days' labour which a farmer had to perform annually to official order was declared commutable for fifteen *mon;* in the ninth century the figure was doubled, and under Tokugawa rule labour was assessed at five *mon* per diem, the equivalent of five *go* of rice, or the quantity consumed by an adult male of the working class. At present, a labourer's daily wage is at least forty *sen*, which purchases twenty-seven or twenty-eight *go* of rice. Thus a day's work procures from five to six days' sustenance now, whereas formerly it only produced one day's sustenance at most. On the other hand, a thousand *mon* being the fourth part of a *ryo*, which was equivalent to thirty-two shillings, it follows that a *koku* of rice cost only eight shillings in ancient times, whereas to-day it costs about thirty shillings.

The coins spoken of above are those that circulated among the lower orders of the people until very recent times, and among all orders until the last quarter of the sixteenth century — rough copper tokens such as may now be seen in China, where a coolie trundling a wheelbarrow laden with strings of *cash* is an every-day spec-

tacle. The silver coins of the fifth century and the solitary gold coins of the eighth were cast in the same mould as the copper *cash*, and do not seem to have had any extensive circulation. But in the last quarter of the sixteenth century a wholly new departure was made under the auspices of the *Taikō*, that great captain, administrator, politician, statesman, and art patron, whose influence for progress was felt in almost every region of Japan's national existence. At the mint founded by him and placed under the direction of the Goto family, who rank in Japan as the greatest workers in metal she ever possessed, a coin was struck magnificent in dimensions and entirely original in design. The easiest way to conceive it is to suppose sixteen guineas beaten into an oval plate, its surface hammered in "wave pattern" and having the superscription "ten *riyo*" boldly written in black ink. It was certainly a very remarkable transition from a little copper token not an inch in diameter and worth only a fraction of a farthing, to a slab of gold,[1] as large as the whole of a man's open hand and worth sixteen guineas. Other gold coins were also struck — a five-*riyo* piece, a one-*riyo* piece and a half-*riyo* piece, — and there were also silver coins, somewhat similar in shape and design though of smaller dimensions. But it is unnecessary to particularise further. The interesting point is the sudden introduction of this system by order of

[1] See Appendix, note 41.

the *Taikō*. It remained in operation — not, however, without occasional debasement of the coins — until the abolition of feudalism in 1871, when one of the Government's first measures was to establish a mint in Ōsaka, equip it with foreign machinery, and strike coins after the Occidental pattern. The financiers of the new era chose the gold standard, taking for unit a quantity of pure gold represented in the Japanese metrical system by an integral weight (four *fun*), having for its Occidental equivalent one and one-half grammes. Ten per cent of copper being added, a coin was obtained approximately equal in value to the gold dollar of America. This was the *yen* (literally, a "round" thing). Silver occupied a subsidiary rank, and was linked to the standard gold coin by the ratio of 16.17 to 1. It has already been described how this system subsequently drifted into silver monometallism, and how the gold standard was afterwards resumed by a bold and well-conceived arrangement.

This retrospect of Japan's media of exchange having been carried independently to a conclusion, in order to avoid the necessity of incidental reference to it in other contexts, the story of the course of trade may now be resumed.

Among the salable chattels in the early times servants were included. In the legislation of the eighth century there stood an enactment that if within three days after purchasing a servant, a horse, or an ox, the buyer discovered his acquisi-

tion to be suffering from a disease contracted previously to the transaction, he was entitled to cancel the bargain. In order to facilitate the operation of this proviso, all such sales had to be accompanied by a guarantee from a third party. Any deception practised by a seller brought him within the purview of the penal laws, whatever might have been the article sold; but a buyer had no recourse should a part of the goods purchased by him be destroyed by fire while still in the possession of the seller: the latter was then absolved from the responsibility of implementing the contract. Incidentally to land sales mention is made of written agreements and the method of their signature. In some eras all sales of land were forbidden; in some they were permitted. But even in the latter case careful processes had to be observed: the permission of the authorities was a necessary preliminary, and thereafter three deeds of sale had to be drawn up, setting forth full details of the land, and each bearing the Government's written seal. One was filed in the local archives, another in those of the province, and the third was kept by the purchaser. It appears that written seals were in public use as well as in private even at this remote period, and that persons who could not write were allowed to affix an impression of the thumb.[1]

There were two recognised kinds of loan. One took the form of a tax rather than a loan. It was

[1] See Appendix, note 42.

levied arbitrarily for state or religious purposes. The other was a loan in the ordinary sense of the term. With regard to the latter, it is seen that already in the eighth century professional money-lenders existed, and that legislative attempts were made to prevent usury. Thus the law forbade a rate of interest higher than twelve and one-half per cent in sixty days, or seventy-five per cent in a year, and also provided that under no circumstances should the total payment on account of interest exceed the principal. The result of the latter veto was that debts remaining unpaid after four hundred and eighty days ceased thenceforth to carry interest. If a debtor failed to repay a loan, he had to become the servant of the creditor, and probably for that reason officials and nuns were not allowed to borrow under any circumstances. Fire, in those early days, was regarded as a calamity not involving any responsibility. Thus if a borrowed article was burned while in the possession of the borrower, no duty of making compensation devolved on him, and the same principle held in the case of goods stolen with violence, though to have lost a thing by common robbery did not cancel the obligation of recouping the lender. All damage done to an article while in the hands of a borrower had to be made good, as also had its loss, but the death of a borrowed animal, if due to natural causes, did not entail any responsibility. The law further provided that in assessing damage or

loss, the value which an article bore at the time of lending it should be taken as a basis, independently of all subsequent fluctuations. Probity in commercial transactions was obviously deemed essential, for an enactment provided that no contract containing an erroneous statement should have binding force. As for vicarious responsibility, a surety was held liable if a principal absconded or died, but neither the parents, the wife, nor the children of a deceased debtor were saddled with any obligations if they could show that the debts had been contracted without their knowledge. It must be remembered that at the time here under consideration — the eighth century — wives had not yet begun to live in their husbands' houses. A man might have two or even more families who were absolute strangers to each other, and under such circumstances to hold the wives or children responsible for his debts would have been plainly an injustice.

The system of pledges was simple. An article given as security for a debt might not be sold, without the consent of the owner, until the accumulated interest equalled the sum lent, when failure to discharge the debt entitled the holder to sell. The sale must be preceded, however, by due notice to the authorities, and any surplus realised had to be paid to the debtor. For the rest, all regulations referring to articles lent applied with equal force to articles pledged.

In this system, remarkably intelligent consider-

ing the period of its elaboration, the question of facilities of travel was not neglected. They had, indeed, previously received some attention. Thus arrangements had been made in the seventh century for relays of horses along the principal highways, but the use of these animals being restricted to officials, no convenient means of travel existed for private individuals. Moreover the task of teaching the people how to build bridges and construct roads was left to Buddhist priests, of whom it must be recorded that into whatever excesses they were subsequently betrayed by prosperity, their influence during the early epochs in Japan was of the most wholesome and civilising character. At the commencement of the eighth century, however, the spirit of reform and organisation animating officialdom extended to inter-provincial communications. Roads were divided into three classes; regulations for their repair were enacted; post towns were established along the highways, one in every stretch of seventy-five miles, their affairs superintended by a headman who derived funds for that purpose as well as for his own remuneration from tracts of land allotted to the towns; provision of horses and oxen was made at each station; strict rules were laid down concerning the number of animals to which each traveller was entitled according to his rank; private persons, if they belonged to the fifth or any higher grade, were authorised, when making a journey, to demand lodging in a town hall;

barriers with guard-houses were established at important places to check the depredations of robbers, and in view of the fact that travellers not infrequently perished of hunger by the wayside, a law was enacted that rice for sale to wayfarers, must be stored at convenient places, and that the name of any man who sold as much as one hundred *koku* (five hundred and seventy-three bushels) in a year by this process should be reported to the Emperor for special reward; the management of everything relating to roads was entrusted to a department of civil affairs; a military board had charge of matters relating to post horses and oxen, and a maritime bureau exercised control over shipping as well as harbour improvement.

Large responsibilities, it will be observed, devolved upon the central Government under this system. That, indeed, was its object, for it marked the resumption of active administrative authority by the Emperor. But it was a system somewhat in advance of the temper of the time, and its success in operation was not commensurate with the intelligence of its conception.

When examining the historical records of early Japan, constructive evidence has already been found that the art of navigation did not emerge from a primitive state until mediæval times. Between the beginning of the seventh century and the close of the eighth, eleven voyages were undertaken by Japanese envoys to the Chinese

Court, but no less than five of them suffered shipwreck, or were carried by storms towards southern lands, where the ambassadors, their suites, and the crews of the vessels were massacred. It was from that time that the term "southern barbarians" (*namban-jin*) began to be applied by the Japanese to foreigners other than the Chinese and the Koreans. Among the enactments of the great Emperor Mommu, author of the eighth-century reforms, there was one directing that embassies to China should be carried in four ships, constructed after Chinese models. By these vessels, on the rare occasions of their voyages, Japanese students and religionists travelled to the Middle Kingdom to drink at the fountains of learning and theology that were supposed to have their sources there; and by these vessels a limited interchange of mercantile commodities took place between the two empires. But trade, in the modern sense of the term, can scarcely be said to have existed.

These scanty facts represent the sum of available information about Japanese commerce up to the end of the Nara epoch (784). Thenceforth, during the interval of four hundred years that preceded the establishment of feudalism at the close of the twelfth century, the state of affairs underwent very little change. When (794) the capital was established at Kyōtō, the eastern and western sections of the city each had its own market, that in the east being kept open continuously during

the first half of the month, and that in the west during the second half. The spirit of extreme formalism that had presided at the laying out of the city with mathematical regularity, made itself apparent in the rules for the control of trade. It was required that the headman of the market should present to the governor a catalogue in triplicate, containing an exact statement of all the commodities offered for sale and of the prices at which they were offered, the latter being limited in the case of every staple. No person was allowed to enter the market wearing a sword. The old veto held strictly with regard to operations of sale by servants of men of rank. Government officials patrolled the street in front of the fifty-one stores in the eastern market and the thirty-three of the western, and police constables were on constant duty to prevent theft or incendiarism. These elaborate enactments naturally ceased to be operative during the evil days that overtook Kyōtō in the civil wars from the middle of the twelfth century, but up to that time trade seems to have flourished in the Imperial city, and its affairs were certainly regulated most carefully. In many provincial towns, also, the same method of special market-places existed, but it has already been shown that this system dated from an early period.[1] Nothing is on record as to the habits of the mercantile class, or the mode of transacting business between remote

[1] See Appendix, note 43.

places. Since, however, the efforts of the authorities to preserve order in the capital were not extended with equal energy to country districts, robbery on the highways and piracy on the rivers were events of frequent occurrence, and inter-provincial commerce seems to have been attended by risks almost deterrent. Thus, on the whole, it cannot be said that any special progress was made in the domain of trade as compared with the preceding epoch. All the laws of the eighth century concerning pledges, mortgages, rates of interest, and so forth, remained unaltered, and any other changes made were not sufficiently important to call for special notice. In this epoch, as in the preceding, Buddhist priests were conspicuous for practical benevolence. They planted trees along the highways, dug wells for the use of wayfarers, improved roads, and built bridges. The Government itself evidently recognised the importance of creating facilities of communication, for in the days of the Emperor Nimmyo (834–850) the duty of superintending the establishment of ferries and the marking of fords was entrusted to an Imperial Prince. Shortly afterwards, it is on record that a bridge was built with a roadway five hundred and sixty feet long, thirteen feet wide, and sixteen feet in height,—a work considered sufficiently important to find a place in history. By the beginning of the tenth century the posting system had been extended to eight circuits, comprising sixty-one provinces and

including three hundred and twenty-one post-towns, where the total number of horses stationed was thirty-four hundred and ninety, and the number of oxen, seven hundred and thirty-seven. It appears, however, that the use of these facilities was still confined to officials and the upper classes. Merchants, manufacturers, and farmers had neither means of conveyance nor inns at which to sojourn. If they could not obtain lodging in a private house, they had either to construct temporary shelters or to sleep on the roadside.

In the field of foreign trade no change is noticeable during this epoch. Commerce with Korea was insignificant, and commerce with China continued to be entirely controlled by officials, all merchandise being carried on arrival into a hall,[1] where it was valued in the presence of secretaries, clerks, accountants, and appraisers, after which sales were made at greatly increased rates to the people, the difference going into the Treasury. So strict was this monopoly that, in the middle of the eleventh century, five men were sentenced to transportation for crossing to China on a tradal mission without official sanction.

The establishment of the feudal system in the year 1192, with its headquarters at Kamakura, was marked by the introduction of strict discipline into the management of public affairs. Kamakura became the scene of a highly organised

[1] See Appendix, note 44.

and rigidly enforced system of government. Police functions were entrusted to one class of officials, municipal duties to another. Street repairing and drainage were duly provided for. Limitations were imposed on the method of building houses so as to prevent any obstruction to traffic. Walking abroad after nightfall, except under imperative circumstances, was forbidden; and in the early part of the thirteenth century the number of tradesmen residing within the town was definitely limited. This last measure is specially noteworthy, for it gave rise to the formation of companies with representatives stationed in the feudal capital and share-holding members in the provinces. Official stations were established to control transactions in the principal staples, as rice, charcoal, silk, timber, horses, and so on, and merchants were required to exhibit samples of their commodities in their stores, so that "shopping" began to be preferred to purchasing in the market. It was in this epoch also that commission agents and shipping agents[1] came into existence, and bills of exchange[2] began to be used in connection with inter-provincial and foreign commerce. This last innovation is attributed to Chinese example, but it was quickly appreciated by the Japanese, who had otherwise no medium but gold dust for making large payments. Naturally the prices charged for monetary accommodation in these disturbed times were

[1] See Appendix, note 45. [2] See Appendix, note 46.

high. Rates of interest ranged from five per cent to eight per cent monthly, and in the middle of the thirteenth century loans without tangible security were wholly interdicted. Military rule was not in any sense favourable to the development of trade. It has been shown that while the administration of affairs remained in the hands of the Kyōtō Court, special provision was made for maintaining horses and oxen at the various post towns, but under the feudal government the people were required to furnish horses and other assistance for carriers travelling on public service. One horse and two baggage-carriers represented the assessment for every twelve and one-half acres of rice land or twenty-five acres of upland, and whenever the *Shōgun* travelled between Kamakura and Kyōtō, an additional contribution of four hundred *mon* had to be made for each acre. This levy on account of a *Shōgun's* progress meant, if translated into modern prices and currency, a payment of about three shillings per acre.

China under the *Sung* and *Yuan* dynasties had numerous articles for which a ready sale should have existed in Japan. She did indeed send considerable quantities of brocades, damask, "Indian" ink, stone-ware, and matting, and all these found eager purchasers. But the Mongol invasion (thirteenth century), the series of incidents that preceded it, and the piratical tendency subsequently shown by the Japanese, greatly inter-

rupted trade between the two countries. Japan had then nothing to send to China except rice and marine products, and the export of the former staple was always liable to be interdicted in time of scarcity.

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when the Ashikaga *Shōguns* ruled in Kyōtō, officialdom showed itself at once merciless and unscrupulous in its manner of exploiting the trading class. Monopolies of all the principal staples were sold to individual merchants, or associations of merchants, at prices highly remunerative to the Government. This was the beginning of the guild system in Japan. Its foundations had been laid when the Hōjō *Shōguns* limited the number of tradesmen admitted to the city of Kamakura, but the sale of declared monopolies was an Ashikaga device, and, after the manner of signal abuses, it remained long operative. The guilds were joint-stock corporations, their shares being transferable by sale or bequeathable from father to son. It is easy to see that at a time when means of communication were very defective, monopolies must often have produced great hardships. The exclusive privilege of brewing *saké* (rice-beer), for example, granted to a priest of Kitano at the beginning of the fifteenth century, caused a violent depreciation of the price of rice in districts where brewing had to be abandoned, and serious riots resulted. But the Ashikaga rulers gave themselves little concern about riots.

Their emissaries were even suspected of inciting mobs to raid merchants' houses, since in these violent proceedings bonds given by the Government in acknowledgment of debts were often destroyed. The *toku-sei*, or so-called "benevolent system," was another constant source of insecurity. Under pretence of relieving indigent debtors, curbing the oppression of rich creditors, and preventing undue accumulation of wealth in the hands of individuals, the authorities, from time to time, declared the cancelling of all monetary engagements. So long as this system was really guided by the considerations avowedly underlying it, the injustice it wrought was probably outweighed by the relief it afforded to the distressed. But the Ashikaga rulers, especially the dilettante *Shōgun* Yoshimasa, perverted it into an instrument for cancelling obligations incurred by their own extravagance. The abuse was further aggravated by lawlessness which the Government never took resolute steps to check. For the alleged purpose of destroying bonds and promissory notes which, though rendered invalid by an amnesty, their holders still retained, bands of roughs broke into the houses and strong-rooms of wealthy citizens, plundering and destroying on an extensive scale. Even temples and shrines did not escape these depredations. Neither security of property nor sanctity of engagement can be said to have existed. Commerce suffered in other ways also. "Transport dues" (*dansen*) and

"house tax" (*munewake-sen*), which had been originally imposed on special occasions only, as an Imperial progress, the construction of a palace, the accession of a *Shogun*, or the building of a temple, were now levied on the pettiest pretext. In short, when Yoshimasa wanted money, whether to build a pavilion, lay out a park, or purchase objects of virtu from China, he never scrupled about the means of getting it. History says that on one occasion he beheaded a number of merchants who had refused to provide an immense sum demanded by his agents. Since, however, the range of these arbitrary extortions and violences was limited chiefly to Kyōtō and its environs, provincial traders were still able to ply their business. The monopoly system continued to flourish, and machinery for transmitting money from the western districts to the capital underwent great improvement. It was in this period (beginning of the fifteenth century) that trade-names first came into use, as *Kame-ya* (urn-house), *Taka-ya* (hawk-house), *Shiro-kane-ya* (white-metal-house), and so on. The custom began in the provinces, and extended to Kyōtō in the second half of the sixteenth century. Hitherto a tradesman had been designated by his personal name only, the use of a family name not being permitted to commoners.

It is difficult to speak with any assurance of the commercial customs of feudal times prior to the seventeenth century: they varied according

to localities. One general rule applied, namely, that the pursuit of trade was considered despicable and degrading. Thus Takeda Shingen, one of the most celebrated representatives of the military class, issued an order forbidding his *samurai* to discuss matters relating to purchases or sales outside their family circle. Many of the noble houses also showed their independence of vulgar commercial restrictions by using measures and weights of their own for fiscal purposes. Thus a "piece" of cotton cloth might vary from twenty-five to thirty feet in length, and of the *masu*, or measure of capacity, there were a score, differing more or less in dimensions. One of the *Taikō's* beneficent reforms was an attempt — not wholly successful — to introduce uniformity in these matters.[1] There are incidental evidences that a somewhat prevalent abuse was the seizure of goods exposed for sale in the market, the grounds of seizure being a pretence that the articles had been stolen; and it is also evident that military men frequently compelled merchants to sell at nominal rates, on the plea that the articles were needed for the *Shōgun* or for a provincial governor. Efforts to restrain these abuses appear to have been made by many of the feudal nobles, but not with uniform resolution. Some of the principles underlying the laws were remarkable. In the Sendai fief, for example, a rule existed that should a man die without having

[1] See Appendix, note 47.

received the proceeds of goods sold by him, his diary should be taken as evidence in preference to the allegations of his debtors, unless the latter could produce documentary proof. The practice with regard to loans was also different from that prevailing in ante-feudal days, when accumulated interest had always to be less than principal. The system under the Ashikaga *Shōguns* was that, whereas the period of a loan must never exceed twenty years, the double of the principal must be paid if the debt was not discharged until the tenth year, and the treble if that period were exceeded. At the expiration of the term originally fixed, the creditor had to make three applications for repayment before appealing to the law courts, and the latter, if the debt was duly proved, had power to impose a fine amounting to one-tenth of the sum due, by way of penalty for failure to pay. There was also a law protecting a creditor against being importuned for mercy by an impecunious debtor; a law evidently designed to guarantee tradesmen against the menaces of indigent *samurai*. The old rule exempting a child from any obligation with regard to a parent's debts ceased to be observed in this epoch, as was natural, seeing that the custom of separate residences for fathers and children had given place to family life. The liabilities of a parent now possessed validity against a child, but, on the other hand, a parent was not liable for his children's debts. An insolvent debtor had still no

recourse but to sell his person into servitude: no bankruptcy court existed to grant him a discharge. In one of the great fiefs, creditors were strictly forbidden to importune a debtor on market day, and any violation of this veto was severely punished. In another fief, the old law as to liability for the destruction of borrowed articles underwent intelligent modification. It assumed this form, that in the event of fire or robbery, if the borrower's property was destroyed or stolen simultaneously with that of the lender, no responsibility devolved on the former; but if only the goods lent were affected, compensation had to be made. The business of pawnbroking was very strictly controlled, maximum periods being fixed by law for different articles, and the pawnbroker being required to pay to the Government, by way of tax, ten per cent of the total loans issued by him. This heavy impost, taken in conjunction with the fact that twenty-four months was the maximum period for any article, is suggestive of the terms that a pawnbroker had to demand from his customers. He was also a conspicuous sufferer from the "benevolent system." Nominally the law granted him security against the operation of this system during the fixed terms of pledge; but in practice the exemption proved illusory, especially as pawnbrokers' stores always possessed special attractions for rioters who took violent advantage of a *toku-sei* proclamation.

Mention has been made of the fact that the impression of the thumb was often used on documents in ante-feudal days by way of substitute for a written signature or seal. From the beginning of the sixteenth century stamped seals began to be used. They had their origin in the employment of a vermilion seal by the *Shōgun*, and they soon obtained wide vogue, though the superior value of a written signature or seal has always been recognised. By degrees it became the custom for every Japanese to have a seal, and such deep root did the habit take, that, in spite of the obvious abuses incidental to a device which presents such ineffective obstacles to fraud, the nation seems to have formed a permanent attachment for seals, and in modern times they have been accorded the validity of signatures by act of Parliament.

The establishment of barriers having guard-houses attached was originally a precaution against bandits. But during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when the feudal chiefs became practically independent of the central Government, barriers served not only for military purposes, but also as means of levying toll from wayfarers. Buddhist and *Shintō* shrines were allowed to set up barriers for the latter purpose, and it is on record that the Kasuga Shrine and the Kokufu Temple collected two thousand *kwan* (£800) annually at a single barrier, — that of Hyōgo. It stands to the credit of the great Takauji, founder

of the Ashikaga Shogunate, that he made a resolute, though unsuccessful, endeavour to abolish these barriers. That was in the middle of the fourteenth century. Two hundred years elapsed, however, before a thorough reform could be effected. Oda Nobunaga accomplished it. He removed all the barriers except those established for military purposes, caused the roads to be widened to fixed dimensions, planted pines and willows along the principal highways, and provided proper means of crossing at the ferries.

Trade with China was resumed, though under somewhat novel conditions, during the Muromachi period; that is to say, under the sway of the Ashikaga *Shōguns*. The rulers of Japan found themselves at that time in constant need of funds to defray the cost of the interminable military operations caused by the struggle between the Northern and the Southern Courts and other civil disturbances. In their distress they turned to the neighbouring Empire as a source from which money might be obtained. This idea appears to have been suggested to the *Shōgun* Takauji by Buddhist priests, when he undertook the construction of the temple Tenryu-ji. Two ships were fitted out laden with goods, and it was decided that the enterprise should be repeated annually, the *Shōgun* promising that, whatever its pecuniary result, a sum of five thousand *kwan* (two thousand pounds sterling) should be subscribed to the temple. These vessels were popu-

larly known as *Tenryu-ji-bune* (*fune* = a ship), and the name came also to be applied to some of the articles carried by them from China, notably to fine specimens of *Yuan celadon*, several of which reached Japan by this route.[1] Within a few years after this renewal of tradal relations between the two Empires, a fresh interruption occurred owing to the overthrow of the *Yuan* Mongols by the Chinese *Ming*, and owing also to the activity of Japanese pirates and adventurers who raided the coasts of China through a wide area. The *Shōgun* Yoshimitsu (1368–1394), however, succeeded in restoring commercial intercourse, though in order to effect his object he consented that goods sent from Japan should bear the character of tribute, and that he himself should receive investiture at the hands of the Chinese Emperor.[2] The Nanking Government granted a certain number of commercial passports, and these were given by the *Shōgun* to Ouchi, feudal chief of Nagato, which had long been the principal port for trade with the neighbouring Empire. The resulting commerce was conducted in a peculiar manner. Tribute goods formed only a small fraction of a vessel's cargo: the bulk consisted of articles which were delivered into the Government's stores in China, payment being received in copper *cash*. It was from this transaction that the *Shōgun* derived a considerable part of his profits, for the articles did not cost him anything origi-

[1] See Appendix, note 48. [2] See Appendix, note 49.

nally, being either presents from the great temples and provincial governors, or compulsory contributions from the house of Ouchi. As for the gifts sent by the Chinese Government and the goods shipped in China, they were arbitrarily distributed among the noble families in Japan at prices fixed by the *Shōgun's* assessors. Thus, so far as the *Shōgun* was concerned, these enterprises could not fail to be lucrative. They also brought large profits to the Ouchi family, for in the absence of competition the products and manufactures of each country found ready sale in the markets of the other. Incidentally the expenses of a voyage are recorded; namely, £20 to the envoy; £12 to the supercargo; the same to the master; £8 to the interpreter; the same to an appraiser; £4 to the crew, and £56 for other outlays, making a total of £120. Leaving Hyōgō, a ship passed through the Inland Sea, sailed southward along the coast of Hizen, and thence steering for the Goto Islands, reached Ningpo, after a voyage of from forty to fifty days. Departure from Japan was preceded by religious rites at various shrines, and a service of thanksgiving celebrated the sighting of land as the ship approached her destination. The vessels found most suitable were of comparatively small dimensions — about one thousand *koku*, that is to say, one hundred and seventy tons. From the Chinese these visitors received most liberal treatment. At Ningpo a sumptuous lodging

was provided, and each person had an allowance of five *sho* (one-quarter of a bushel, or fully a ten days' ration for an able-bodied man) of pounded rice *per diem*, together with seven or eight other kinds of food. Passports secured a safe journey for them to Nanking[1] or Peking, where again they were handsomely housed at the Government's charges and received the same quantity of rice with eleven kinds of edibles. Their sojourn extended to several days, for it was necessary not only that they should be equipped with Chinese costumes, but also that full instructions in the etiquette of the Middle Kingdom should be given to them prior to their presentation at Court. After presentation a further allowance of rice, amply sufficient for one hundred and twenty days' rations, was granted out of the Government's stores for the purposes of the home voyage, and it will thus be seen that from first to last they were treated unequivocally as a tribute-bearing embassy. It appears that the articles found most salable in China were swords, fans, screens, lacquer wares, copper, and agate, and that the goods brought back to Japan were brocade and other silk fabrics, keramic productions, jade, and fragrant woods. The Chinese seem to have had a just appreciation of the wonderful swords of Japan. At first they were willing to pay the equivalent of twelve guineas for a pair of blades, but by degrees, as the

[1] See Appendix, note 50.

Japanese began to increase the supply, the price fell, and at the beginning of the sixteenth century all the "diplomacy" of the Japanese envoys was needed to obtain good figures for the large and constantly growing quantity of goods that they took over by way of supplement to the tribute. Buddhist priests generally enjoyed the distinction of being selected as envoys, for experience showed that their subtle reasoning invariably overcame the economical scruples of the Chinese authorities and secured a fine profit for their master, the *Shōgun*. The whole business must, indeed, have proved no small drain upon China's resources. It is recorded that three ships despatched in 1532 by the Ouchi family carried, in addition to the tribute, 24,152 pairs of swords and 298,500 *catties* (398,000 lbs.) of copper, 26 officials, 297 merchants, and 130 seamen. In the middle of the sixteenth century these tribute-bearing missions came to an end with the ruin of the Ouchi family and the overthrow of the Ashikaga *Shōguns*, and it need scarcely be said that they were never renewed. The impartial historian is compelled by these records to confess, however, that not all China's claims of suzerainty over neighbouring countries rest on such an unsubstantial basis as some critics have been disposed to believe.

Commerce between Japan and Korea was not surrounded with such ceremonies. No passport from the Korean Government had to be carried

by Japanese traders. The *So* Family, who held the island of Tsushima in fief, wrote permits for fifty ships, which passed, every year, from ports in Japan to the three Japanese settlements in the peninsula. But in the beginning of the sixteenth century this trade came to an abrupt conclusion, owing to the unruliness of the Japanese themselves, whose attitude towards foreigners in early and mediæval times never showed any lack of defiant enterprise. Some objectionable proceedings on the part of Korean officials at the Fusan Settlement led (1610) to a revolt of the Japanese settlers. Their example was followed by their compatriots at another settlement, and in both cases the Koreans suffered, at the outset, complete defeat. But strong forces despatched from Söul soon restored the situation, and in the sequel the Japanese were obliged to retire altogether from the three settlements; an event which terminated the trade between the two countries. There had been no official intervention on Japan's part in this matter, but subsequently the Korean Government, in reply to communications from the *Shōgun*, agreed to re-open commerce provided that the ringleaders of the rioters were decapitated and their heads sent to Söul. The value attached by the Japanese to Korean trade may be inferred from the fact that they complied with these humiliating conditions. Nevertheless, the trade was not restored to its previous proportions: the number of Japanese vessels was limited to twenty-

five annually, and the settlements were abolished altogether. Another complication, thirty years later, again resulting from Japanese truculence, led to the imposition of fresh restrictions, though on this occasion the *Shōgun* Yoshiharu caused the offenders to be arrested and handed them over to Korea for punishment. The Japanese of those days showed a spirit which did not render them very desirable as visitors to a foreign country, and the Söul Court obdurately refused either to restore the system of settlements or to allow trade to resume its old dimensions. Then followed the invasion of Korea by the *Taikō's* armies. During seven years the peninsula was overrun by these troops, and when they retired in 1595, they left behind them a country so broken and impoverished that it no longer offered any attraction to commercial enterprise.[1]

[1] See Appendix, note 51.

Chapter V

THE HISTORY OF COMMERCE IN JAPAN (Continued)

NOTHING is more noteworthy in the commercial history of this epoch than the improvement that took place in the social status of the merchant during the second half of the sixteenth century. Much of the change was due to the liberal views of the *Taikō*, whose patronage of everything that could contribute to national prosperity was quite impartial. He strongly encouraged commercial voyages by his countrymen to Macao, to the Philippines, to Cambodia, to Annan, and to other places. Nine ships engaged in this trade every year. They carried licences bearing the *Taikō's* vermilion stamp, and their ports of departure were Nagasaki, Ōsaka (for Kyōtō), and Sakai. Associated with these enterprises were the names of some ambitious adventurers, who sought to persuade Hideyoshi to undertake the conquest of Formosa and the Philippines. There is evidence to show that they would have succeeded had not his mind been already fixed upon a greater pros-

pect, the conquest of China. At all events they had free access to his presence, and he showed himself equally willing to meet and converse with them, whether they had only an account of their travels to offer, or whether they brought him a gift of a musk-cat or presented some of the exceedingly homely jars of Luzon pottery to which Japanese tea-clubs attached extraordinary value. The town of Sakai was at that time one of the most flourishing commercial emporia of Japan. Its merchants possessed great wealth and influence, and so far from sharing the social stigma of their predecessors in the more exclusive days of Kyōtō rule, they were recipients of official patronage, obtained occasional admittance, condescending indeed but still courteous, to aristocratic circles, and became famous not only for their attachment to the tea cult, but even for their skill in composing a new kind of verselet which they were the means of bringing into fashion. A Portuguese missionary visiting Japan at that epoch records with astonishment that he saw a Sakai merchant pay fifteen hundred crowns for a tripod censer, and when the *Taikō* organised a gigantic tea-cult *réunion* at Kitano, three Sakai tradesmen won the distinction of having contributed the finest objects of virtu to the wonderful collection there displayed. It is, perhaps, to the exigencies of the Ashikaga *Shōguns*, as much as to the robust intelligence of the *Taikō*, that Japanese tradesmen owed their first emergence

from a degraded position; for, unscrupulous as were the extortions and the heavy losses suffered by them at the hands of officialdom during Ashikaga days, their potentialities as contributors to the public exchequer won for them the title of "elders" at the Muromachi Court.

Japanese trade with Europe in mediæval times need not be noticed at any length here. The religious question alone prevented it from growing steadily and bringing in its train all the responsibilities and incentives of international relations. Under such circumstances Japan's ambition would certainly have led her far. It is on record that during the brief period — little more than half a century — which separated the opening of the trade from the first restrictions imposed on it, plans were formed, and in some cases partially carried out, for the conquest of Siam, the Philippines, Formosa, the Riu-Kiu Islands, Korea, China, and even southern Europe. In few countries, indeed, has the spirit of aggressive enterprise showed itself more potent than it was in Japan at the close of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century. The map of the Far East would certainly have been altered had not the excesses of Christian propagandists, aggravated by the jealousies of her foreign visitors, shocked Japan into seclusion. The Dutch alone remained in her territories, but they purchased the privilege at a price which to men of modern times seems incredible. The

island of Deshima where they were confined had an area of only three and one-fourth acres. It was surrounded by a high fence of boards with a double row of spikes, and never, from year's end to year's end, did the inmates enjoy the privilege of free egress, while the only Japanese allowed to enter constantly were prostitutes. Between the island and the mainland stretched a narrow bridge, having at one end a constantly closed gate, at the other a guard-house. A bamboo pipe brought a supply of fresh water from Nagasaki, and two tide-gates on the north gave access to ships arriving from Holland. A very potent commercial instinct was required to carry on trade under such conditions, and indeed the whole story shows that the mediæval Dutch possessed not only remarkable shrewdness but also extraordinary adaptability. They quickly appreciated that the good will of officialdom was essential to their successful sojourn in Japan, and they spared no efforts to ingratiate themselves. They went to Persia or India for rare and costly gifts such as might placate the *Shōgun's* councillors or the Nagasaki Governor. They obeyed every order addressed to them by the Japanese authorities, however unjust or repugnant they found it. Thus, when commanded to destroy various edifices just erected by them at Hirado, because the year of the Christian era was carved on the stones, they complied unhesitatingly. When required to lend armed assistance for the repression of the Christian in-

surgents at Shimabara, they made no objection. When ordered to enter what was virtually a prison at Deshima and to abandon all their religious exercises, they submitted unresistingly. It was certainly fortunate for Japan that the Dutch showed so much complaisance, since, insignificant as was the trade at Deshima from a national point of view, and slight the traders' contact with the Japanese people, there can be no doubt that had that door of ingress been closed to progressive ideas, Japan could scarcely have crossed the threshold of her new career in the nineteenth century without a catastrophe. To the Dutch themselves, also, the monopoly they thus secured brought considerable profits. For although they were not allowed to develop their business without limit, although the visits of their vessels were never permitted to exceed two annually and were ultimately reduced to one, yet in the disordered state of Japan's currency, in the arbitrarily fixed ratios between gold, silver, and copper, and in the people's ignorance of the value of foreign manufactures, they found an opportunity which they turned to such good account that between 1609 and 1858 they are said to have exported over forty million pounds sterling of gold and silver as well as two hundred thousand tons of copper. Deshima is now spoken of as a gate through which the wealth of the country flowed away incessantly during two centuries and a half, and some justice must be conceded to the definition.

As to the manner of regulating the Deshima trade, it varied, of course, from time to time, but the general principle was to exclude the Dutch from the benefits of Japanese competition. The imported goods were purchasable by a limited number of specially licensed merchants from Kyōtō, Sakai, Ōsaka, Nagasaki, and Yedo. When a cargo arrived, it was landed and examined by appraisers, who fixed the price to be paid to the importers. The Dutch were then required to set out samples in their stores, and thereafter a signal bell summoned the licensed merchants, who, having passed into the enclosure and examined the samples, subsequently put in tenders, whatever they offered above the appraised prices being appropriated by the officials, who also levied a tax from the licensed merchants as well as a heavy rent from the Dutch. More or less departure from this system is observable at various epochs, but the dominant principle remained tolerably permanent, namely, exclusion of the foreigner from the advantages of Japanese competition. Periodically the superintendent of the Dutch factory had to travel to Yedo for the purpose of tendering thanks and gifts to the *Shōgun*, who on these occasions always bestowed on him thirty suits of clothing. This journey, made under strict official supervision, was prefaced and followed by a similar visit to the Governor of Nagasaki. The articles imported by the Dutch were sugar, timber, stone-ware, metals, drugs,

cloth, glass, porcelain, leather, toys, oils, mirrors, clocks, cutlery, surgical instruments, gold and silver wares, birds and animals. Those exported were copper, camphor, lacquered articles, porcelains, silk fabrics, soy, tea, cotton fabrics, *saké*, wax, screens, bamboos, toys, and bamboo-ware.

Originally, it was not considered necessary to subject Chinese tradesmen to similar restrictions. They lodged in the houses of the citizens of Nagasaki, who levied a brokerage on their sales and purchases, and were consequently eager to welcome them. But owing to the quarrelling and other abuses resulting from that system, a special settlement was ultimately assigned. It measured something over seven acres, was surrounded by a ditch and palisade, and might not be entered by any one unless he carried a passport. But the Chinese were not confined there after the manner of the Dutch in Deshima. They paid a duty of a little over two per cent of their total transactions during the year, and thereafter enjoyed a considerable measure of freedom. In their case also, the import trade, especially that in raw silk, was controlled by official assessors, whose method was to make three appraisements, pay the average of the three to the Chinese importers, sell the goods at the highest appraisement to the Japanese dealers, and appropriate the difference. The Chinese of that era were very active merchants. Their junks plied between Japan and twenty-two ports in China,

Tonquin, Cambodia, Siam, Batavia, Malacca, and elsewhere, and their list of exports was large, — sugar, rare woods, lead, quicksilver, porcelain, musk, drugs, cotton and silk fabrics, writing brushes and ink, pictures and other works of art, tin, copper and brass, gems, glass, dyed leather, furs, and various edibles. It should be added that in the case of the Chinese the trade was not confined to purchases with coin. A system of barter also was practised in an exchange building, and received encouragement from the authorities, who saw in it a device for preventing the outflow of specie. The chief article of barter on Japan's side was marine products, for which there was always a great market in China, — *beche de mer*, dried cuttle-fish, various kinds of shell-fish, and sundry sea-weeds. At first the Government entrusted to an association of merchants the duty of collecting these products, and bringing them together in the exchange building at Nagasaki, financial assistance being given by the Treasury.[1]

But it was ultimately found necessary to take the whole business into official hands, and by skilful organisation thoroughly successful operations were conducted. The chief interest of this page of commercial history is that it shows the Japanese *samurai* acting in a tradal capacity, and acting with much ability. Purchasing offices were established in Ōsaka, Hakodate, Akamagaseki, and Yedo, that in Yedo having twelve stores

[1] See Appendix, note 52.

attached with an extensive drying-ground. The goods were divided into ten grades, and the official examiners became so skilled that they could detect at a glance the *provenance* of any article, though fifty-nine districts contributed to the production. The chronicles of the eighteenth century gravely record that as the prices of all these goods were officially fixed, no special "business policy" was required in selling them, the whole question being limited to an endeavour on the part of the Chinese to get as much as possible of the best grades, and on the part of the Japanese to dispose of as much as possible of the inferior.

In order to conclude the subject of Japan's foreign trade in feudal times, it may be noted that one of the earliest acts of the Tokugawa *Shōgun* Iyeyasu, after he assumed administrative power, was to replace his country's relations with Korea on a friendly footing. In this matter he showed great patience, but his emissaries did not succeed in altogether overcoming the anti-Japanese sentiment that prevailed in Korea as a natural result of former settlers' lawless procedure and of the *Taikō's* armed aggressions. Korea agreed, however, that forty Japanese junks might annually visit Fusan, where a settlement was laid out for the use of Japanese merchants. It is highly probable that the system adopted by Korea with regard to this settlement suggested the arrangements made at a later date by the Japanese themselves for the control of the Dutch at De-

shima. The Koreans insisted that the Japanese settlers should confine themselves strictly to the limits of the concession, never passing out of the four gates and never holding free intercourse with the people of the country. Subsequently, the settlement having been removed to a more convenient site in the neighbourhood, the Japanese sought permission to visit their cemetery in the old settlement, but the Korean authorities decided that this should be allowed only twice annually, that all Koreans dwelling along the route taken by the Japanese should close their doors for the day, and that the settlers should be escorted to and fro by constables and soldiers. These irksome restrictions did not find the Japanese as patient as the Dutch always showed themselves at Deshima: Fusan became the scene of several disturbances. Towards the close of the seventeenth century the Tokugawa policy of international isolation reached the trade with Korea, limiting the total value of the transactions to seven hundred thousand pounds sterling, and imposing specific import duties of ten per cent, approximately. Nevertheless Japan's diplomatic attitude toward Korea remained conspicuously cordial. A custom had been established that the Korean Government should send a special envoy to Japan on the occasion of a *Shōgun's* accession. To this envoy a profusely hospitable reception was accorded. The third Tokugawa *Shōgun*, Iyemitsu, ordered that the fifteen prov-

inces and forty-two post towns through which the ambassador passed *en route* for Yedo should organise independent demonstrations in his honour, although the official reception given to a Japanese envoy visiting Korea was limited to the port of arrival, and organised on lines of simplicity rather than ostentation. The scholar and statesman Arai Hakuseki protested against the excessive costliness and courtesy of Japan's hospitality, but although his protest obtained approval, a hundred years elapsed before (1811) practical effect was given to it. Thenceforth officials despatched from Yedo received the Korean envoy at his landing-place in the island of Tsushima, and the further prosecution of his journey was dispensed with.

Naturally commerce so burdened by restrictions and monopolies as was that with the Dutch and the Koreans, offered a tempting field for clandestine operations. These were frequent. Invariably the Dutch ships were escorted into and out of harbours, and were watched while at anchor by guard-boats. The smuggler's only resource, therefore, was to meet a foreign vessel at some *rendez-vous* beyond the range of official observation, receive her goods there, and furnish return cargo. In Korea's case transactions of this kind were comparatively easy, since the smugglers from each side could be sure of reaching the place of assignation at the appointed time. But the length of the voyage from Europe and its incidental vicissitudes, made smuggling a troublesome

and dangerous matter where the Dutch were concerned. In spite of the risks, however, and in spite of the fact that detection invariably meant death, such large profits accrued that constant evasions of the law took place down to comparatively modern times. There are recorded in connection with these infractions five cases of capital punishment, and one instance of expiatory suicide on the part of several officials.

The great chiefs of feudal days had an effective method of treating tradesmen: they regarded them in a certain sense as chattels to be moved from place to place according to the convenience of the Administration. The *Taikō*, when he built his Castle in Ōsaka, ordered a number of the Sakai merchants to transfer their stores to new streets laid out by him there. Subsequently, when Ōsaka's prosperity began to decline, owing to the growth of Yedo, Matsushita Tadaaki, governor of the former city, caused all the Fushimi merchants to migrate from the two hundred streets occupied by them and to take up their abode in Ōsaka. Similarly, when Iyeyasu wanted a commercial population for Yedo in 1603, he summoned thither the leading tradesmen of Kyōtō and Ōsaka. But these arbitrary acts entailed little hardship. Merchants found their account in obeying such orders, especially in the case of Yedo; for since the Tokugawa system compelled the feudal chiefs to have residences there, each of the provincial magnates provided himself with at

least two mansions and sets of barracks, where a host of retainers sojourned, supporting their lord's reputation by the fashion of their lives, so that the city rapidly became a centre of unparalleled prosperity.

It was, indeed, under the shadow of feudalism that the Japanese merchant flourished, and his greatest representative may be said to have been a direct outcome of that system. The feudal chiefs received the bulk of their income in rice, and it became necessary to make arrangements for getting the grain to market, disposing of it and transporting the proceeds to the fiefs, or to cities, whence the latter drew their supplies. These objects were originally achieved by establishing in Ōsaka "store mansions" (*kura-yashiki*), under the charge of *samurai*, who received the rice and sold it to merchants in the city, remitting the money by official carriers. But from the middle of the seventeenth century the business of these store-mansions was placed in the hands of trustworthy merchants, who took the name "*kake-ya*," or "agent." The *kake-ya* had large responsibility and was the repository of much confidence. For not only did he dispose of the rice and other commodities forwarded from a fief, but also he held the proceeds, sending them by monthly instalments either to Yedo or to the fief, rendering accounts at the end of each year, and deducting from two to four per cent as commission. He had no special licence, as was the case with

tradesmen in other branches of business, but he invariably belonged to the highest class of his profession, and sometimes he was honoured with an official title or rewarded with an hereditary pension after the manner of a *samurai*. In fact, a *kake-ya* of such standing as the Kōnoike and the Mitsui families, was, in effect, a banker charged with the care of a large section of the finances of several fiefs.

The method of transacting rice sales in Ōsaka on behalf of the fiefs was uniform. On the arrival of the grain, a notice was posted inviting tenders by a certain day. These tenders having been opened in the presence of all the "store-mansion" officials and the *kake-ya*, the names of the successful tenderers were advertised, whereupon they were required to deposit bargain money and to affix their seals to a statement of the transactions. Generally the bargain money had not to be paid until the day following the opening of the tenders, but if the credit of the tenderer was doubtful, he had to send in the bargain money at once. As for the remaining sum, ten days' grace was allowed, but failure to pay within that time involved confiscation of the bargain money and permanent exclusion from all subsequent transactions. On receipt of the full amount, the *kake-ya* gave the buyer a ticket, which entitled him to take delivery of the rice, in whole or by instalments, at any time prior to the third month of the second year after the sale,

no fee for storage being charged during that time.

Corresponding with the *kake-ya* of Ōsaka, was the *fuda-sashi* of Yedo, a curious term, literally signifying "ticket-holder," and derived from the fact that rice-vouchers were usually thrust into split bamboos, which could be conveniently planted in a pile of rice-bags to indicate their buyer. The *fuda-sashi* received the grain constituting the revenues of the *Shōgun's* immediate feudatories — the Hatamoto, or bannerets — as well as of administrative officials, and accounted for it in cash. In Ōsaka no limit was at any time set to the number of the *kake-ya*, nor were they obliged to have licences. But in Yedo, from the beginning of the eighteenth century, the *fuda-sashi* were duly licensed, the number of licences being fixed at one hundred and eight. Their fees amounted to a little more than two per cent of the transactions managed by them (three *bu* per thirty-five *koku* of grain), but they also derived large profits by lending money to the feudal chiefs, though they were forbidden to charge a higher rate of interest than fifteen per cent. Divided into three confederations, each subdivided into six classes with six houses in a class, they appointed a general manager for each confederation every month by vote, organised their business so ably that it brought them great gains, and lived in luxury which became proverbial. A licence might be transmitted in the

holder's family, and might also be sold, but in the latter case the consent of the confederation had to be obtained. The usual market value was £1,600. On the other hand, they had always to take into account the risk of official interference, as when (in 1789) the *Shōgun's* chief minister drew his pen through all debts owed by feudatories to *fuda-sashi;* or when, in 1841, the celebrated Mizuno *Echizen-no-Kami*, desiring to succour the bannerets and restrain the extravagance of the *fuda-sashi*, decreed that all moneys owing to the latter should be paid by instalments spread over twenty years without interest.

Rice, of course, always constituted the chief staple of commerce in Japan, but since the fief products, which formed the bulk of the crop, were disposed of by tender at the places of storage, neither Ōsaka nor Yedo possessed a regular rice exchange until the second half of the sixteenth century. From the use of tickets, the grain being held in store until it suited the purchaser to take delivery, sales of rice to arrive soon came into vogue, and further, instead of paying cash for tickets, the custom was established of merely registering a transaction, and deferring any transfer of money until the rice came to hand. A so-called "exchange," but really a bank, was established to deal with these tickets, making advances against them, and in that way purely speculative transactions were conducted on an extensive scale. It need scarcely be said that

when the market price of rice rose to an abnormally high figure, public opinion rebelled against these speculative operations. Several of the brokers were arrested (1721) and placed on trial, and though the authorities acquitted them, dealing in margins was thenceforth forbidden, and the licence system, as described above, went into force in Yedo. There were three exchanges. One closed at noon; the other two remained open until nightfall, and consequently received the name of "fire-rope exchange," because the burning out of a fire-rope constituted the signal for closing. Orders to be filled as well as lots of "real rice" and of rice to arrive were put up at auction, and the current price of the day was communicated from Ōsaka to the provinces by signals with flags, or with flambeaus if at night. Twice in every year, namely, on April the 17th and October 17th, the standard rice was determined by vote, and since this rice commanded the highest price in the market, it became a matter of great moment to a fief that its grain should be chosen. There was consequently keen competition, and the chief of the successful fief contributed £800 towards the expenses of the market. It must not be inferred, however, that merchants were free to fix the price of rice at will. In every age this commodity enjoyed the distinction of being considered the standard of value, and stringent measures were officially adopted to prevent regrating or hoarding of grain in times of

bad harvests. Similar scrutiny extended to the productions of *saké*, which is brewed from rice, and occupies in Japan much the same place as that held by beer in England or Germany. Official restrictions were consequently imposed on its manufacture whenever a scarcity of rice threatened.

It has been shown that the system of organised companies had its origin in the Kamakura epoch, when the number of merchants admitted within the confines of the city being restricted, it became necessary for those not obtaining that privilege to establish some method of coöperation. The Ashikaga *Shōguns* developed the idea by selling to the highest bidder the exclusive right of engaging in a particular trade, and the Tokugawa Administration perpetuated the practice. But whereas the monopolies instituted by the Ashikaga had for sole object enrichment of the exchequer, the Tokugawa, though their manner of applying the system was not free from the taint of favouritism, regarded it chiefly as a means of securing worthy representatives in each branch of trade. Thus the first trade licences were issued in Yedo to keepers of bath-houses, in the middle of the seventeenth century. The Japanese bath-house was often a haunt of immorality. In the upper storeys of these buildings vices were practised which the authorities found themselves unable to control without enlisting the assistance of the bath-keepers themselves by means of the licence system. As the city grew in dimensions,

these licences increased in value, so that pawnbrokers willingly accepted them in pledge for loans. Subsequently, almanack-sellers were also required to take out licences, their numbers being limited to eighty-one; and the system was afterwards extended to money-changers, of whom six hundred were placed on the official roll.

It was to the fishmongers, however, that the advantages of commercial organisation first presented themselves vividly. The greatest fish-market in Japan is at Nihon-bashi in Tōkyō. It had its origin in the needs of the Tokugawa Court. When Iyeyasu entered Yedo in 1590, his train was followed by some fishermen of Settsu. To them he granted the privilege of plying their trade in the adjacent seas, on condition that they furnished a supply of their best fish for the use of the garrison. The remainder they offered for sale at Nihon-bashi. Early in the seventeenth century, one Sukegoro[1] of Yamato province went to Yedo, and organised the fishmongers into a great guild. Nothing is recorded about this man's antecedents, though his mercantile genius entitles him to historical notice. He contracted for the sale of all the fish obtained in the neighbouring seas, advanced money to the fishermen on the security of their catch, constructed preserves for keeping the fish alive until they were exposed in the market, and enrolled all the dealers in a confederation which ultimately

[1] See Appendix, note 53.

consisted of three hundred and ninety-one wholesale merchants and two hundred and forty-six brokers. There were three markets in the city, but none could compare with that of Nihonbashi in magnitude and importance. The main purpose of Sukegoro's system was to prevent the consumer from dealing direct with the producer. Thus in return for the pecuniary accommodation granted to fishermen to buy boats and nets, they were required to give every fish they caught to the wholesale merchant from whom they had received the advance; and the latter, on his side, had to sell in the open market at prices fixed by the confederation. A somewhat similar system applied to vegetables, though in this case the monopoly was never so close. All products of the garden had to be carried to the market and sold there by auction, none being disposed of privately. But as the vegetable-grower's circumstances rendered him more independent than the fisherman, he was never brought completely within the meshes of the organisation.

It will be observed that this confederation of fishmongers approximated closely to a "trust," as the term is now understood; that is to say, an association of merchants engaged in the same branch of trade and pledged to observe certain rules in the conduct of their business and to adhere to fixed rates. The idea obtained wide vogue from the first half of the eighteenth century. It was extended to nearly every domain

of trade, ten monster confederations being organised in Yedo and twenty-four in Ōsaka. These received official recognition, and contributed a sum to the exchequer under the euphonious name of "benefit money."[1] They attained a high state of prosperity, the whole of the city's supplies passing through their hands.[2] No member of the confederation was permitted to dispose of his licence except to a near relative, and if any one not borne on the roll of a confederation engaged in the same business, he became liable to punishment at the hands of the officials. In spite of the limits thus imposed on the transfer of licences, one of these documents commanded from £80 to £6,400, and in the beginning of the nineteenth century the confederations, or guilds, had increased to sixty-eight in Yedo, comprising nineteen hundred and ninety-five merchants.

The guild system extended to maritime enterprise also. In the beginning of the seventeenth century a merchant of Sakai established a junk service between Ōsaka and Yedo, but the business did not receive any considerable development until the close of that century, when ten guilds of Yedo and twenty-four of Ōsaka combined to organise a marine-transport company for the purpose of conveying the merchandise of the guilds. Here also the principle of monopoly was strictly observed, no goods belonging to unaffiliated

[1] See Appendix, note 54. [2] See Appendix, note 55.

merchants being shipped. This carrying-trade rapidly assumed large dimensions. The number of junks entering Yedo yearly rose to over fifteen hundred. They raced from port to port, just as tea-clippers from China used to do in recent times, and troubles incidental to their rivalry became so serious that it was found necessary to enact stringent rules. Each junk-master had to subscribe a written oath that he would comply strictly with the regulations, and observe the sequence of sailings as determined by lot. The junks had to call *en route* at Uraga, for the purpose of undergoing official examination. The order of their arrival there was duly registered, and the master making the best record throughout the year received a present in money as well as a complimentary garment, and became the shippers' favourite next season.[1]

Operations relating to the currency also were brought under the control of guilds. The business of money-changing seems to have been taken up as a profession from the beginning of the fifteenth century; but it was then in the hands of pedlars who carried strings of cash which they offered in exchange for gold or silver coins, then in rare circulation, or for parcels of gold dust. From the early part of the seventeenth century exchanges were opened in Yedo, and in 1718 the men engaged in this business formed a guild after the fashion which obtained such

[1] See Appendix, note 56.

vogue at that time. Six hundred of them received licences, and no unlicensed person was permitted to pursue the avocation. Four representatives of the chief exchanges met daily and fixed the ratio between silver and gold, the figure being then communicated to the various exchanges and to the *Shōgun's* officials. As for the prices of gold or silver in terms of copper, or of bank notes, twenty representatives of the exchanges met every evening, and in conjunction with four representatives of the gold and silver exchanges, an official censor also being present, settled the figures[1] for the following day and recorded the amount of transactions during the past twenty-four hours, full information on these points being at once sent to the City Governors and Street Elders. The exchanges in their ultimate form approximated very closely to the Occidental idea of banks. They not only bought gold, silver and copper coins, but they also received money on deposit, made loans, and issued vouchers which played a very important part in commercial transactions. The voucher seems to have come into existence in Japan in the fourteenth century. It originated in the Yoshino market of Yamato province, where the hilly nature of the district rendered the carriage of copper money so arduous that rich merchants began to substitute written receipts and engagements, which quickly became current. Among

[1] See Appendix, note 57.

these documents there was a "joint voucher" (*kumiai-fuda*), signed by several persons any one of whom might be held responsible for its redemption. This had large vogue, but did not obtain official recognition until 1636, when the third Tokugawa *Shōgun* selected thirty substantial merchants and divided them into three guilds, each authorised to issue vouchers, provided that a certain sum was deposited by way of security. Such vouchers were obviously a form of bank note. Their circulation by the exchanges came about in a similar manner. During many years the treasure of the *Shōgun* and of the feudal chiefs was carried to Yedo by pack-horses and coolies of the regular postal service. But the costliness of such a method led to the selection (in 1691) of ten exchange agents who were appointed bankers to the Tokugawa Government, and were required to furnish money within ninety days from the date of receiving an order in that sense. The agents went by the name of the "ten-men guild." Subsequently the firm of Mitsui was added, but it enjoyed the special privilege of being allowed one hundred and fifty days to collect the specified amounts. The guild received moneys on account of the Tokugawa or the feudal chiefs at provincial centres, and then made its own arrangements for cashing the cheques drawn upon it by the *Shōgun* or the *Daimyō* in Yedo. If coin happened to be easily available, it was employed to cash the cheques; otherwise

the vouchers of the guild served instead. It was in Ōsaka, however, that the functions of the exchanges acquired fullest development. That city has in all eras exhibited a remarkable aptitude for trade. Its merchants, as already shown, were not only entrusted with the duty of selling the rice and other products of the surrounding fiefs, but also became depositories of the proceeds, which they paid out on account of their owners in whatever sums the latter desired. Such an evidence of official confidence greatly strengthened their credit, and they received further encouragement from the second Tokugawa *Shōgun* (1605–1623) and from Ishimaru Sadatsugu, who held the post of Governor of the city in 1661. Ishimaru fostered wholesale transactions; sought to introduce a large element of credit into commerce by instituting a system of credit sales; took measures to promote the circulation of cheques; inaugurated market sales of gold and silver, and appointed ten chiefs of exchange who were empowered to oversee the business of money-changing in general. These ten received exemption from municipal taxation and were permitted to wear swords. Under them were twenty-two exchanges forming a guild, whose members agreed to honour one another's vouchers and mutually to facilitate business. Gradually they elaborated a regular system of banking, so that, in the middle of the eighteenth century, they issued various descriptions of paper, — orders for

fixed sums payable at certain places within fixed periods; deposit notes, redeemable on demand of an indicated person or his order; bills of exchange drawn by *A* upon *B* in favour of *C* (a common form for use in monthly or annual settlement); promissory notes to be paid at a future time, or cheques payable at once, for goods purchased; and storage orders engaging to deliver goods on account of which bargain money had been paid. These last, much employed in transactions relating to rice and sugar, were generally valid for a period of three years and three months, were signed by a confederation of exchanges or merchants on joint responsibility, and guaranteed the delivery of the indicated staples independently of all accidents. They passed current as readily as coin, and advances could always be obtained against them from pawnbrokers. All these documents, indicating a well-developed system of credit, were duly protected by law, severe penalties being inflicted for any failure to implement the pledges they embodied. A peculiar form of voucher may be mentioned here. Cut out of cardboard, a foot long and about three inches wide, it had a hole for stringing it on a cord after the manner of copper cash. Merchants frequenting the provincial markets for silk fabrics often carried a number of these vouchers suspended from their girdles.

The merchants of Yedo and Ōsaka, working on the system of trusts here described, gradually

acquired great wealth, and fell into habits of marked luxury. It is recorded that they did not hesitate to pay five pounds for the first bonito of the season and eleven pounds for the first egg-fruit. Naturally the spectacle of such extravagance excited popular discontent. Men began to grumble against the so-called "official merchants" who, under government auspices, monopolised every branch of trade; and this feeling of umbrage grew almost uncontrollable in 1836, when rice rose to an unprecedented price owing to crop failures. Men loudly ascribed that state of affairs to regrating on the part of the wholesale companies, and murmurs similar to those raised at the close of the nineteenth century in America against the trust system began to reach the ears of the authorities perpetually. The celebrated Fujita Tōko of Mito took up the question. He argued that the monopoly system, since it included Ōsaka, exposed the Yedo market to all the vicissitudes of the former city, which had then lost much of its old prosperity. Finally, in 1841, the *Shōgun's* chief minister, Mizuno *Ęchizen-no-Kami*, withdrew all trading licences, dissolved the guilds, and proclaimed that every person should thenceforth be free to engage in any commerce without let or hindrance. This recklessly drastic measure, vividly illustrative of the arbitrariness of feudal officialdom, not only included the commercial guilds, the fishmongers' guilds, the shipping guilds, the exchange guilds, and the land-transport guilds,

but was also carried to the length of forbidding any company to confine itself to wholesale dealings. The authorities further decreed that, in times of scarcity, wholesale transactions must be abandoned altogether and retail business alone carried on, their purpose being to bring retail and wholesale prices to the same level. The custom of advancing money to fishermen or producers in the provincial districts was interdicted; even the *fuda-sashi* might no longer ply their calling, and neither bath-house-keepers nor hair-dressers were allowed to combine for the purpose of adopting uniform rates of charges. But this ill-judged interference produced greater evils than it was intended to remedy. The guilds had not really been exacting; their organisation had reduced the cost of distribution, and they had provided facilities of transport which brought produce within cheap and quick reach of the central markets. Ten years' experience showed that a modified form of the old system would conduce to public interests. The guilds were re-established, licence fees being, however, abolished, and no limit being set to the number of firms in a guild. Things remained thus until the beginning of the *Meiji* era (1867), when the guilds shared the cataclysm that overtook all the country's old institutions. It is probable that a reaction similar to that of 1851 will by and by be witnessed, and that the guilds of former days will be revived on the lines of modern American trusts. However

WAILUKU BOATING PLACE.

that may be, the record written above seems to show how little thought has been given to the lessons of history by those that deny Japanese capacity for organisation, since it appears that during nearly a century and a half prior to the Restoration every branch of business was organised in a manner effectually contradicting such a theory.

Japanese commercial and industrial life presents another feature which seems to suggest special aptitude for combination. In mercantile or manufacturing families, while the eldest son always succeeded to his father's business, not only the younger sons, but also the apprentices and employés after they had served faithfully for a number of years, expected to be set up as heads of branch houses under the auspices of the principal family, receiving a place of business, a certain amount of capital, and the privilege of using the original house-name. Many old-established firms thus came to have a plexus of branches all serving to extend its business and strengthen its credit, so that the group held a commanding position in the commercial world.

Chapter VI

THE HISTORY OF COMMERCE IN JAPAN (Continued)

AS bearing on the system of credit, which the reader already perceives to have been far beter developed in pre-*Meiji* Japan than is generally supposed by foreign observers, reference may be made to the manner of dealing with goods from the time of their leaving the hands of the producer or owner until they came into those of the consumer. The motive power of the whole machinery of distribution was credit. In the first place, the wholesale merchant either made advances to the producer or received the commodities on commission without any previous accommodation or security. He then offered them for sale by auction to middle-men (*nakagai*), and immediately on the completion of the sale he paid over the proceeds to the owner, less his own commission and charges. The broker, however, did not immediately pay the wholesale merchant. He merely became responsible for payment at a fixed future date, selling the goods meanwhile *en bloc* to the retailer, who also obtained them on credit

until he could collect the price from the consumer. The intervals of credit varied with the nature of the goods, but the principle was unchanging. If a broker failed to observe his engagements, his name was posted in the market as a defaulter, and it became impossible for him to buy again until he had satisfied all claims against him. It is thus evident that credit was the basis of all commercial transactions in Tokugawa times.

In these matters of ordinary sale and purchase the law did not provide any special safeguards. But it did interest itself particularly to impart security to commercial paper. A claim founded on such an instrument was given the privilege of "summary action;" that is to say, it was entitled to be tried without waiting for the regular Court days, and a favourable judgment gave the creditor a right of priority in the distribution of the debtor's estate. It has been truly said that the whole process of production, manufacture, and distribution rested firmly on a basis of commercial paper.

There was no lack of official attention to the subject of weights and measures during the Yedo administration. Certain makers of weights, measures, and scales were licensed, and steps were taken to prevent fraudulent practices, officials being frequently despatched throughout the country on tours of inspection. But the old want of uniformity could never be completely corrected. No less than four units of length remained in

vogue, and the measures of capacity and weight showed similar variety, the "catty" of tea, for example, weighing one hundred and twenty *me*, or one pound avoirdupois; the catty of incense, two hundred and thirty *me*, and the catty in general, one hundred and sixty *me*.

The Tokugawa rulers showed their appreciation of the value of good communications by imposing upon each feudal chief the duty of repairing roads, building bridges, and providing post-horses and ferry-boats within the limits of his fief. What has been explained in a previous chapter on this subject may be supplemented by saying that at first a "governor of roads" was appointed, but subsequently his functions fell to the Chief Censor and the Finance Magistrates. Assignments of land were made on condition that their revenues should be applied to pay the expenses incurred by post-towns in furnishing horses and messengers for the public service. The inhabitants of these towns enjoyed the privilege of being exempt from land-tax and received monetary loans occasionally from the treasury. Milestones were set up along the main thoroughfares, and to two families was entrusted the duty of organising and superintending all matters relating to land transport. These facilities were for the benefit of officials only. In the middle of the seventeenth century, however, the Ōsaka merchants organised a land-transport service to Yedo. They had to obtain permission for the carriers to

assume military names and wear two swords, since any commoner travelling by the Tōkaidō exposed himself to considerable risks at the hands of the coolie class. In 1662 the tradesmen of the "Three Cities" (Kyōtō, Ōsaka, and Yedo) combined to extend the service and bring it within reach of all classes. At first letters and small parcels alone were carried, but by and by a guild of sixteen transport companies having been formed, each member depositing security to the extent of about £150, it became possible to despatch merchandise and specie. The charge for conveying gold and silver between Yedo and Ōsaka was two per cent, and that for carrying goods was twenty-eight shillings per hundred pounds, which prices were not excessive considering the distance — three hundred and sixty miles — and the difficulties of the journey. The year 1739 saw the establishment of the first quick post between Yedo and Ōsaka, the postmen being mounted and moving at a trot day and night, so that a letter reached its destination within seventy hours from the time of despatch. The charge for this rapid transit was high, however, namely, about £8. Using the ordinary postman, a letter generally took twenty-five days to travel from one city to the other, but then the cost was only twopence.

Maritime facilities between Yedo and Ōsaka have already been spoken of. As to other regions, it appears that over-sea communication

with the great rice-producing district of Kiushiu existed from a tolerably early date, but the equally prolific provinces in the north-east and the north-west remained without any shipping service until the time of the third *Shōgun* (1623–1650), when some of the leading Yedo merchants were ordered to supply the deficiency. Like everything else relating to commerce, the maritime carrying trade fell entirely into the hand of guilds; a plainly beneficial arrangement in one respect, namely, that each guild or union of guilds insured the goods carried by its ships as well as the ship itself, losses being paid on the mutual principle. This fact is interesting, since it has been confidently affirmed by foreign writers that the Japanese had no conception of insurance prior to the *Meiji* era, whereas in truth they practised it for two centuries before that time. All vessels engaged in the business of maritime transport were registered by a "shipping association," which has been aptly called the "Lloyd's of Japan," since every detail relating to a ship was entered in the association's books, and a wooden ticket bearing its stamp was given to each registered vessel. Strict laws governed matters relating to maritime disasters. In case of wreck, the people of the vicinity were entitled to a portion of the cargo and wreckage salved by them,[1] and there were detailed regulations with regard to jettisoning cargo, which seems to have been fraudulently practised at times.[2]

[1] See Appendix, note 58. [2] See Appendix, note 59.

The laws for protecting commercial transactions against fraud were very severe. A few of the principal provisions will suffice to convey a general idea of the whole: —

A merchant who sold commodities to *A*, received money for them and then sold them to *B* or pawned them, was punishable with death if the price of the goods amounted to £16 or upwards, and with tattooing on the brow when the price fell short of that sum. But if, while lying in prison, he restored the money, capital punishment was changed into banishment from Yedo, and tattooing into expulsion from the street where he resided.

An unwitting purchaser of stolen goods was required to restore them and suffer the loss. If he had sold them, his duty was to trace them and re-purchase them from their actual holder, the principle being that responsibility rested on the person who had bought direct from the thief. If the goods could not be found, the original purchaser had to give back their money equivalent.

Any one wittingly buying stolen goods was banished from the street where he resided; and was liable to capital punishment if he had sold them.

Many rules were enacted to restrain usury. Compound interest was illegal, and the courts had no competence to entertain a creditor's suit after a bond had been frequently renewed. The latter restriction did not apply to blind creditors, however, and the results of the exception made in their favour have already been described. To fall into the clutches of a blind usurer was proverbially worse than the sharpest penury.

Ordinary creditors, too, might make things unendurable for their debtors, by purchasing the services of "sitting duns" who planted themselves in a debtor's house immovably until he discharged his obligation; or of "aids" who resorted to threats and even physical violence in the interests of their employers. The records show that, in 1718, no fewer than 33,037 suits to recover money lent were instituted in Yedo.

In Tokugawa times the demoralising effects of the "benevolent system" which had been so frequently abused by Ashikaga Yoshimasa, were evidently understood, for the custom of periodically drawing the pen through all debts was not adopted. Once, however, at the close of the eighteenth century, the usurious practices of merchants entrusted with the duty of selling "salary rice' had culminated in such distress among the *samurai* that an official decree annulled all debts which had been outstanding for more than six years, and provided that, in the case of other debts, liability for interest should cease and the principal might be paid off by instalments. Another notable enactment with regard to debt was that of 1843. It provided that in the case of clearly proved obligations eighty days should be allowed for discharging a loan not exceeding £48; one hundred and twenty days for a loan not exceeding £80, and so on up to loans of from £960 to £1,600, for which the period of grace was put at six hundred and fifty days. On the

whole, however, Tokugawa rule was marked by freedom from interference in such matters.[1]

Under the conditions here noted the business of pawnbroking assumed large dimensions. Anything might be pawned, from a landed estate to a pair of wooden clogs, and the sign-board of a shop or the implements of a hair-dresser were taken by a pawnbroker as representing the house of their owner. The term of pawn — except in the case of land — was from three to eight months, and the legal limit of interest varied in different epochs, being two and seven-tenths per cent monthly for silver and gold and four per cent for copper, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, whereas in the beginning of the nineteenth century it was from one to two per cent, large sums paying a heavier rate than small. The operations of the pawnbroker were strictly regulated. Anyone offering an article for the first time had to write his name and address on a paper stamped with his seal, and had also to provide a reputable security, on whom devolved the duty of redeeming and restoring to its owner a stolen article which had been received by the pawnbroker in good faith. If a pawnbroker disposed of an article prior to the expiration of the term of pledge, and was unable to restore it to its owner, he had to pay to the latter twice the amount originally advanced. Other rules governed the business, but enough has been said to

[1] See Appendix, note 60.

show that it was thoroughly and efficiently supervised. The pawnbrokers formed a guild like all other merchants, and received licences from the Government. In the year 1723, the records show that the Yedo guild consisted of 253 associations, comprising 2,731 persons. In 1770 the number was limited to 2,000, each of whom paid 1 *s.* 4 *d.* annually as "benefit money." Ōsaka, though its population did not exceed one-third of that of Yedo, had nearly as many pawnbrokers. At the time (1832) of the Government's crusade against the guild system, the pawnbrokers' licences were withdrawn, only to be restored ten years later when the benefits of coöperative enterprise came to be appreciated.

Itinerant merchants in Japan deserve notice. Omi and Etchiu were the provinces chiefly remarkable for such tradesmen. The pedlars of the former are said to have been originally *samurai* of Yawata, who, deprived of their feudal service, laid aside their swords and shouldered a pack. At all events, they showed remarkable enterprise and business capacity. They travelled even to Yezo and to the South Sea Islands; they established stores in remote regions; their thrift was such that they would pick up straw sandals discarded on the wayside and preserve them for future use, and they ultimately succeeded in rendering Omi proverbial for wealth. The pedlars of Toyama in Etchiu were a still more interesting fraternity. Their origin dated from

1681, when a travelling physician of Bizen administered a drug of striking efficacy to Mayeda Masatoshi, feudal chief of Toyama. Mayeda ordered his vassals to learn the method of compounding this medicine, and thereafter they began to carry the "Toyama drug" from place to place, finding a ready sale for it. The method of dealing was peculiar. No one was required to pay for medicine that he had not used. The vendor deposited a certain quantity of medicine with a customer, and returning a year later, received the price of whatever portion had been used in the interval. It was a system of absolute trust, and it worked so successfully that the business grew to very large proportions. A guild was organised with subordinate confederations, and licence-fees were paid, varying from sixteen shillings in the beginning of the eighteenth century to two pounds in the middle of the nineteenth. The vendors received monetary advances and parcels of medicine on the security of their beats and of the sale made by them. In short, the method of credit received its highest development in these transactions, and it is therefore interesting to note that whereas seventeen hundred pedlars were employed in 1830, making sales that amounted to £80,000, the figures in 1848 were two thousand pedlars and £192,000, which further increased in later years.

The tea-trade of Tokugawa times also presented features of special interest. Uji, in the

province of Yamashiro, was the chief place of production. There were three classes of producers: the *On-mono-chashi* (honourable-utensil tea-men), who prepared leaf for the *Shōgun* and the great *daimyō*; the *Ofukuro-chashi* (honourable-bag tea-men), who had to supply the principal monasteries; and the *On-tori-chashi* (honorable-take tea-men), who catered for the public at large. The *On-mono-chashi* numbered eleven families, of whom the two principal had the rank of *Shōgun's* "deputies;" possessed revenues of about £500 and £300, respectively; kept the state of nobles at Uji, and served in alternate years as director of the whole of their class. All the *On-mono-chashi* wore *samurai* costume, carried a sword, and with the exception of the two principals, shaved their heads. Every year the *Shōgun's* tea-jars were carried to Uji to be filled. This proceeding was attended with extraordinary ceremonial. There were nine choice jars in the *Shōgun's* palace, all genuine specimens of Luzon pottery, and three of these were sent each year in turn, two to be filled by the two "deputy families;" the third, by the remaining nine families of *On-mono-chashi*. The jars were carried in solemn procession, headed by a master of the tea-cult (*cha-no-yu*) and a "priest of tea," and accompanied by a large party of guards and attendants. In each fief through which the procession passed it received an ostentatious welcome and was sumptuously feasted. On arrival at Uji the jars, which

always left Yedo fifty days before midsummer, stood for a week in a specially prepared store until every vestige of moisture had been expelled, and then, having been filled, were carried to Kyōtō and there deposited for a space of one hundred days. Meanwhile the members of the procession which had escorted the jars from Yedo returned thither, and in the autumn repaired once more to Kyōtō to fetch the tea. The return journey was by the Kiso-kaidō, and again the progress of the jars was marked by ceremonious welcomes and feastings in each district. For each jar of tea a gold *ōban* (sixteen pounds) was paid, and the same rate held for purchases by a *daimyō*. No new tea might be delivered from Uji until the *Shōgun's* jars had been filled, and official permission to proceed with the plucking of the first crop of leaves had to be obtained with much formality from Kyōtō. These extravagances had a political purpose, but the cost of the jars' progresses to and from Yedo being enormous, the frugal *Shōgun* Yoshimune (1710–1744) put an end to the picturesque custom.

Japan's foreign trade, its origin and its development during the *Meiji* era, are so intimately connected with the political history of the fall of the Tokugawa and the restoration of administrative power to the Emperor, that in speaking of the latter events some reference to the former could not be avoided. Hence the reader is already familiar with the manner in which commercial

relations were re-established between Japan and the Occident in modern times, and also the embarrassments that resulted from the marked difference between the silver price of gold in Japan and its silver price in Europe at the epoch when the trade was opened. Another fact which greatly helped to render foreign commerce unpopular at first was an extraordinary appreciation of prices that followed its inauguration. The severity of the fluctuation may be seen from the following table: —

Commodity.	Quantity.	Silver Price in 1830.		Silver Price in 1865.	
Rice	1 *koku*	91.00	*momme*	207.50	*momme*
Barley	"	32.50	"	160.00	"
Salt	"	10.31	"	62.50	"
Shoyu (soy)	1 barrel	24.10	"	62.63	"
Rape-oil	1 *koku*	251.00	"	1220.00	"
Brown sugar	1 catty	0.75	"	3.175	"
Firewood	20 *kwamme*	4.70	"	22.60	"
Charcoal	1 bag	4.10	"	15.10	"
Mats	10	36.74	"	180.00	"
Dried Banito	10 *kwamme*	200.00	"	1600.00	"
Herring fertiliser	"	19.00	"	110.00	"
Mushrooms	1	160.00	"	800.00	"
Lacquer	1 *kwamme*	85.00	"	450.00	"
Tiles (roof)	1000	150.00	"	800.00	"
Copper	100 catties	320.00	"	1380.00	"

Two hundred per cent of this appreciation was due to change of coinage effected by the Government in order to convert the ratio between gold and silver from one-fifth, at which it stood in Japan, to one-fifteenth, the European figure. But in many cases, as the table shows, the appreciation

tion was four hundred per cent, and seldom less than three hundred per cent, and such a fluctuation caused much inconvenience to the consuming classes. Attributing it to the advent of foreigners and the opening of new markets, the people at first regarded over-sea commerce with disfavour. This objection did not long remain effective, however, for on the other side were ranged the producers who received from foreign buyers such prices as they had never before realised. Marine products, raw silk, and tea were the chief staples of export at first. It has already been shown that for several centuries Japan's over-sea trade had been under the control of the Government, to whose coffers it contributed a substantial revenue. When the foreign exporter entered the field under the conditions created by the new system, he diverted to his own pocket the handsome profits hitherto accruing to the Government, and since the latter could not easily become reconciled to this loss of revenue, or wean itself from its traditional habit of interference in affairs of foreign commerce, whereas the foreigner, on his side, not only desired secrecy in order to prevent competition, but was also tormented by inveterate suspicions of Oriental espionage, not a little friction occurred from time to time. Thus the impression suggested by the scanty records of that early era is that trade was beset with great difficulties, and that the foreigner had to contend against most adverse

circumstances, though in truth his gains amounted to forty or fifty per cent.[1] It happened that, just before Japan's raw silk became available for export, the production of that staple in France and Italy had been largely curtailed owing to a novel disease of the silkworm. Thus when the first bales of the Japanese article appeared in London, and it was found to possess qualities entitling it to high rank, a keen demand sprang up, so that in 1863, the fourth year after the inauguration of the trade, no less than seventeen thousand piculs were shipped. Japanese tea, also, differing radically in taste and bouquet from the black tea of China, appealed quickly to American taste, and six million pounds of it were sent across the Pacific in 1863. The corresponding figures for these two staples in 1899 were sixty thousand piculs and twenty-eight million pounds, respectively. That remarkable development is typical of the general history of Japan's foreign trade in modern times. Omitting the first decade, the statistics of which are imperfect, it is found that the volume of the trade grew from five and three-fourths millions sterling in 1868 to forty-nine millions in 1900. It was not a uniform growth, however. The period of twenty-three years divides itself conspicuously into two eras: the first of eighteen years (1868–1885), during which the growth was from five and three-fourths millions to thirteen millions, a ratio of one to

[1] See Appendix, note 61.

two and one-fourth, approximately; the second of fifteen years (1885–1900), during which the growth was from thirteen millions to forty-nine millions, a ratio of nearly one to four. That a commerce which did little more than double itself in the first eighteen years should have quadrupled itself in the next fourteen, is a fact inviting explanation.

There were two principal causes: the one general, the other special. The general cause was that several years elapsed before the nation's material condition began to respond visibly to the administrative, fiscal, and transport improvements effected by the *Meiji* Government. Taxes had been reduced and security of life and property obtained, but political unrest did not finally disappear until 1881, when the promise of constitutional government was proclaimed; neither did railway building, road-making, harbour construction, and the development of a mercantile marine exercise a sensible influence upon the people's prosperity until 1884 or 1885. From that time the country entered upon a period of steadily growing prosperity, and from that time private enterprise may be said to have finally shaken off official restraints and started upon a career of independent activity.

The special cause which, from 1885, contributed to a marked growth of trade, was the resumption of specie payments, spoken of in a previous chapter. Up to that time the Treas-

ury's fiat notes had suffered such marked fluctuations of specie value that sound or successful commerce became very difficult. Against the import merchant the currency trouble worked with double potency. Not only did the gold with which he purchased goods appreciate constantly in terms of the silver for which he sold them, but silver itself appreciated sharply and rapidly in forms of the fiat notes paid by Japanese consumers. Cursory reflection may suggest that these factors should have operated inversely to stimulate exports as much as they depressed imports. But such was not altogether the case in practice. For the exporter's transactions were always hampered by the possibility that a delay of a week or even a day might increase the purchasing power of his silver in Japanese markets by bringing about a further depreciation of paper, so that he worked timidly and hesitatingly, dividing his operations as minutely as possible in order to take advantage of the downward tendency of the fiat notes. Not till this element of pernicious disturbance was removed did the trade recover a healthy tone and grow so lustily as to tread closely on the heels of the foreign commerce of China, with her three hundred million inhabitants and long-established international relations.

In the main this trade was built up by the energy and enterprise of the foreign middleman. He acted the part of an excellent agent. As an exporter, his command of cheap capital, his ex-

perience, his knowledge of foreign markets and his connections enabled him to secure prices which Japanese, working on their own account, could not possibly have obtained, and he paid to Japanese producers ready cash for their staples, taking upon his own shoulders all the risks of finding a sale for them beyond the sea. As an importer, he enjoyed credit abroad which the Japanese lacked, and he offered to Japanese consumers foreign products laid at their doors with a minimum of responsibility on their part. Further, whether as importers or as exporters, the foreign middlemen always engaged in such keen competition with each other that their Japanese clients obtained the very best possible terms from them. Yet the Japanese have always been anxious to oust them. In a measure the ambition is quite natural. If a community of aliens settled down in the United States or in England, and obtained a dominant place in the management of the country's foreign trade, Americans and Englishmen would certainly endeavour to wrest the business from their hands. Every nation must desire to carry on its own commerce independently of foreign assistance, and since a community of strangers is not to be found discharging similar functions in any Occidental land, the Japanese would prefer that their land should not be exceptional in that respect.

There are, further, some special features of the foreigners' methods in Japan which render his

intervention irksome. His practice is openly based on the hypothesis that no Japanese is trustworthy, and he takes frequent occasion to proclaim his want of confidence in a manner that may be wholesome but is assuredly very offensive. His experience, it must be added, goes far to justify this distrust. He can show chapter and verse for saying that neither the moral sanctity of an engagement, nor the material advantage of credit, nor even the practical necessity of implementing every condition of a contract, is fully appreciated by the average Japanese tradesman with whom he has had dealings. In China there are associations of merchants whose chief object is to foster credit by a system of mutual insurance. Lest the business of the members in general should lose the benefit of public trust, a default on the part of any one of them is made good by the association *en masse*. In Japan also there are associations nominally formed with the same motive, but their apparent disposition in practice is to shield and abet a defaulting member, rather than to denounce him, when a foreigner is his victim. There are some considerations to be noted, however. One is that the Japanese frequenting the treaty ports and doing business with the foreign residents, belong to an inferior stratum of the nation. They established their footing at a time when all contact with foreigners was counted degrading or unpatriotic. For the most part they were men with-

out reputations to imperil, and they approached the foreigner with a disposition to regard him as a person to be neither spared nor respected. In short, they were not, nor are they yet, fair representatives of the upper grade of Japanese merchants. A more subtle factor is that the wholesome atmosphere of public opinion is virtually wanting in the region of this open-port trade. Whatever chicanery a Japanese may practise against foreigners, his own version of the incident alone reaches his nationals. Opinions may differ as to the efficacy of the checks which the scrutiny of his fellows imposes upon the average mortal's improbity, but that it does impose a considerable check, none will deny. The Japanese trader, in his dealings with foreign resident merchants, is beyond the influence of such checks. If he sins, it is with the comfortable conviction that his sin will not find him out. Then, above all, there is the fact that the foreigner is generally regarded as fair game. He may preach to the Japanese about commercial morality, but the Japanese consider him arbitrary, masterful, exacting, and often unjust. His style of living also contributes to render him unwelcome. He builds for himself a mansion far more imposing than that of his native client, and his daily expenditure is such as to suggest to Japanese eyes that he derives a splendid income from his business. Thus, receiving little consideration from the people of the country in his

transactions with them, he learns to regard them with profound distrust. But it is not possible to endorse his sweeping verdict that the commercial conscience is wholly undeveloped in Japan and that transactions on credit are impossible. History flatly contradicts such an allegation. Throughout more than two hundred years under Tokugawa rule all business was conducted on a basis of credit more extended and more thorough than could have been found in any other country at the same epoch, and commercial paper as well as private bank-notes commanded implicit confidence. There is no question of conjecture or credulity in this matter: the facts are beyond cavil. It must be conceded that the resident foreign merchant has suffered sufficiently to warrant his suspicions; but a nation with such a record as that of the Japanese is not to be written down commercially conscienceless or radically dishonest because it often walks crookedly in endeavouring to circumvent the foreigner, whose assumption of superiority it resents, whose large share in the country's over-sea trade it regards with jealousy, and whose unqualified criticisms it hears with not unnatural umbrage.

Statistics show that the efforts made by Japanese merchants to get the foreign trade into their own hands have been tolerably successful, for whereas, in 1888, their share was only twelve per cent of the total, it rose to twenty-five per cent in 1899. Yet there are strong reasons to

doubt whether such a rate of change will be maintained in the future. The day is still distant when the Japanese tradesman can hope to establish with the Occident relations of such mutual intimacy and confidence as will enable him to take the place now occupied by the foreign middleman.

Analysis of Japan's foreign trade during the *Meiji* era (1868–1900 inclusive) shows that exports exceeded imports in fifteen years. This would suggest a tolerably well-balanced trade. But closer examination does not confirm the suggestion. Reckoning from 1872, when returns relating to movements of specie became available for the first time, it is found that the quantity of gold and silver which flowed out of the country exceeded the quantity flowing in by fifty-nine million *yen*. On the other hand, the imports of merchandise for the same time were three hundred and twenty million *yen* in excess of the exports. Obviously Japan cannot have paid for imports worth three hundred and twenty millions of *yen* by a disbursement of only fifty-nine millions of species. This apparent anomaly admits of an easy explanation. After the war of 1894–1895 Japan received from China an indemnity of thirty-six and one-third millions of pounds, out of which she brought eighteen and two-thirds millions into the country. Further, in 1898, she sold bonds to the value of four and one-third millions in the London market and caused the

money to be sent to Tōkyō. If these twenty-three millions — or two hundred and thirty million *yen* — be taken into account, the excess of apparently unpaid for imports is reduced to thirty-one millions of *yen*, the greater part of which, if not the whole, is accounted for by the expenditures of foreigners resident in the country and of tourists visiting it. There can be no question, however, that Japan's foreign trade is at present causing an outflow of her specie. Only within the past five years (1896 to 1900), however, has the balance been seriously against her, the excess of imports for that period totalling no less than three hundred and ten million *yen*. Doubtless the explanation is to be sought in the fact that since 1896 the Government has been spending great sums on works connected with the *post-bellum* programme of armaments' expansion, and that the millions thus scattered among the people have increased their purchasing power to an abnormal extent.

It can scarcely be doubted that the future development of Japan's trade will be in the direction of manufactures. She will always be able to send abroad considerable quantities of raw silk and tea and comparatively inconsiderable quantities of marine products,[1] copper, coal,[2] camphor, sulphur, rice and minor staples, but, with regard to these, either her producing capacity is inelastic or her market is limited. It is

[1] See Appendix, note 62. [2] See Appendix, note 63.

certain, indeed, that she will by-and-by have to look abroad for supplies of the necessaries of life. Rice is the staple diet of her people, and she seems to have almost reached the potential maximum of her rice-growing area; for in spite of her genial climate and seemingly fertile soil, the extent of her arable land is disproportionately small. She has only eleven and one-half millions of acres under crops, and there is no prospect of any large extension, or of the yield's being improved by new agricultural processes.

The Japanese farmer understands his work thoroughly. By skilful use of fertilisers he has been able to raise good crops of rice on the same land during fifteen or twenty centuries. On the other hand, not only is the population increasing at the rate of half a million annually, but in proportion to the growth of general prosperity and the distribution of wealth, the lower classes of the people, who used formerly to be content with barley and millet, now regard rice as an essential article of food. It cannot be long, therefore, before large supplies of this cereal will have to be drawn from abroad. The same is true of timber, which has already become inconveniently scarce. Further, Japan cannot even grow her own cotton, and nature has not fitted her pastures for sheep, so that much of the material for her people's clothing has to be imported. Her future lies undoubtedly in industrial enterprise. She has an abundance of

cheap labour, and her people are exceptionally gifted with intelligence, docility, manual dexterity, and artistic taste. Everything points to a great future for them as manufacturers. This is not a matter of mere conjecture. Striking practical evidence has already been furnished. Cotton-spinning may be specially referred to. As long ago as 1862, the feudal chief of Satsuma started a mill with five thousand spindles. During a whole decade he found only one imitator. In 1882, however, a year which may be regarded as the opening of Japan's industrial era, this enterprise began to attract capital, and in the course of four years fifteen mills were established, working fifty-five thousand spindles. By foreign observers this new departure was regarded with contemptuous amusement.

The Japanese were declared to be without organising capacity, incapable of sustained energy, and generally unfitted for factory work. These desponding views had soon to be radically modified, for by 1897 the number of mills had increased to sixty-three; the number of spindles to some eight hundred thousand; the capital invested to twenty-one million *yen*, and the average annual profit per spindle was three and one-half *yen*, or thirteen and one-third per cent on the capital. The rapidity of this development suggests unsoundness, but speed is a marked characteristic of Japan's modern progress. In 1880, for example, a man named Isozaki, of

Okayama prefecture, carried to Kobe a specimen of a new kind of floor-mat, the outcome of two years' thought and trial. Briefly described, it was matting with a weft of fine green reeds and a warp of cotton yarn, having a coloured design woven into it. Isozaki found difficulty in getting any one to test the salability of his invention by sending it abroad. Sixteen years later, the "brocade-matting" industry of Okayama prefecture alone occupied 734 weaving establishments, with 9,085 stands of looms; gave employment to 9,375 artisans, of whom 5,335 were females, and turned out two and a fourth million *yen* worth of this pretty floor-covering. Meanwhile the total value of the industry's output throughout the Empire had reached nearly six million *yen*, and the quantity exported stood at four millions, approximately, in the customs returns. Here, then, is a trade which rose from nothing to a position of importance in sixteen years.

Even more remarkable in some respects has been the development of the textile industry. In 1884 the total production of silk and cotton fabrics was six million *yen*; in 1898 it had increased to one hundred and ten millions.[1] The manufacture of lucifer matches is another industry of entirely recent growth.

A few years ago, Japan used to import all the matches she needed, but by 1900 she was able

[1] See Appendix, note 64.

not only to supply her own wants but also to send abroad six million *yen* worth.

Without carrying these statistics to wearisome length it will suffice to note that, in six branches of manufacturing industry which may be said to have been called into active existence by the opening of the country, — namely, silk and cotton fabrics, cotton yarns, matches, fancy matting, and straw braid, — Japan's exports in 1888 aggregated only one-fourth million *yen*, whereas the corresponding figure for 1899 was sixty-eight millions. With such results on record, it is impossible to doubt that she has a great manufacturing future. The fact has, indeed, been partially recognised and much talked of within the past few years, especially in the United States, where the prospect of Japanese industrial competition was recently presented to the public in almost alarming proportions. On the other hand, among foreigners resident in Japan the general estimate of native manufacturing capacity is low. Doubtless, as is usually the case, the truth lies between the two extremes. Japanese industrial competition will be a formidable fact one of these days, but the time is still distant. Progress is checked by one manifest obstacle, defective integrity. Concerning every industry whose products have found a place in the catalogue of modern Japan's exports, the same story has to be told: just as really substantial development seemed to be visible, fraudulent adulteration or dishonestly careless

technique interfered to destroy credit and disgust the foreign consumer. The Japanese deny that the whole responsibility for these disastrous moral *laches* rests with them. The treaty-port middleman, they say, buys so thriftily that high-quality goods cannot be supplied to him. That excuse may be partially valid, but it is not exhaustive. The vital importance of establishing and maintaining the reputation of an article offered newly in markets where it has to compete with rivals of old established excellence, is not yet fully appreciated in Japan.

As to organising capacity, the possession of which by the Japanese has been strenuously doubted by more than one foreign critic, there are proofs more weighty than any theories. In the cotton-spinning industry, for example, the Japanese are brought into direct competition in their own markets with Indian mills, employing cheap native labour, organised and managed by Englishmen, and having the raw material at their doors. The victory rests with the Japanese, from which it may fairly be inferred that their organisation is not specially defective or their method costly.[1] Yet there is one consideration that must not be lost sight of: it is the inexperience of the Japanese; their lack of standards. Japan is dressing herself in a material civilisation that was made to the measure of alien nations, and curious misfits are inevitably developed in the process.

[1] See Appendix, note 65.

If the England of 1837, for example, — that is to say, England as she was at the commencement of the Victorian era, — could have been suddenly projected forward to 1897, and invited to adapt herself to the moral and material conditions of the latter period, the task, though almost inconceivably difficult, would have been easier than that which Japan set herself thirty years ago, for England would at least have possessed the preliminary training, the habit of mind, and the trend of intelligence, all of which were wanting to Japan. That essential difference should be easy to remember, yet it is constantly forgotten by observers of Japan's progress. Again and again they make the mistake of measuring her acts by the standards to which they have themselves been educated. Again and again they fall into the error of deducing from her failures and perplexities the same inferences that similar perplexities and failures would suggest in Europe or America. If the citizens of Tōkyō hesitate to spend large sums upon street repair, they are accused of blind parsimony, though the fact is that, never having had any practical knowledge of really fine roadways, they have not yet learned to appreciate them. If Japanese officials do not at once succeed in solving the very difficult problem of Formosan administration, it is concluded that they lack administrative ability, though absolute lack of experience suffices to account for their ill-success.

If the people have not yet made any significant contribution to the sum of Occidental scientific knowledge or mechanical contrivances, they are dismissed as imitative not initiative, which is much as though a lad should be charged with want of originality because, having barely mastered the integral calculus, he did not write some new chapters on quaternions. If they have not yet reduced constitutional government to a smoothly working system, have not yet emerged from a confusion of political coteries into the orderly condition of two great parties, each capable of assuming and discharging administrative responsibilities, they are declared unfit for representative institutions, though they have tried them for only ten years after fifteen centuries of military feudalism or hereditary oligarchy. If they do not carry on their new industries with the minimum of efficient labour, and if they fail to appreciate the economical necessity of bestowing constant care upon machinery and seeking to rise above first results instead of regarding them as the *ne plus ultra* of subsequent achievement, they are pronounced radically deficient in the industrial instinct, whereas the truth is that they have not as yet any accurate perception of the standards experience and competition have established in foreign countries.

The condition of their army and of their navy shows that not capacity but practice is what the Japanese lack. These two services are altogether

modern creations. There was nothing in the history of Japan to suggest her competence for managing such machines. Yet the excellence of her military organisation was fully demonstrated in her campaign against China, in 1894–1895, and again in the Peking expedition of 1900. In the former she had to undertake the most difficult task that falls to the lot of a belligerent, the task of sending over-sea two *corps d'armée* (aggregating a hundred and twenty thousand men), and maintaining them for several months in widely separated fields, — one in eastern and central Manchuria; the other in the Liaotung peninsula and, subsequently, in Shantung province. The effort did not appear to embarrass her. There was no sign of confusion or perplexity; no break-down of the commissariat or transport arrangements; no failure of the ambulance or hospital service. Everything worked smoothly, and the public were compelled to recognise that Japan had not only elaborated a very efficient piece of military mechanism, but had also acquired ability to employ it to the best advantage. The same inference was suggested by her navy. Although during two and a half centuries her people had been debarred by arbitrary legislation from navigating the high seas, the twenty-fifth year after the repeal of these crippling laws saw the State in possession of a squadron of thirty-three serviceable ships-of-war, officered and manned solely by Japanese, constantly manœu-

vring in distant waters without accident, and evidently possessing all the qualities of a fine fighting force. In the war with China this navy showed its capacity by destroying or capturing, without the loss of a single ship, the whole of the enemy's fleet, whereas the latter's superiority in armour and armament ought to have produced a very different issue. On the other hand, a visit to Japanese factories often shows machinery treated carelessly, employés so numerous that they impede rather than expedite business, and a general lack of the precision, regularity and earnestness that characterise successful industrial enterprises in Europe and America. Achievement in one direction and comparative failure in another, whereas the factors making for success are similar in each, indicate, not incapacity in the latter case, but defects of standard and experience.

The vast majority of the Japanese have no adequate conception of what is meant by a highly organised industrial or commercial enterprise.[1] They have never made the practical acquaintance of anything of the kind.[2] For elaborating their military and naval systems, they had close access to foreign models, every detail of which could be carefully scrutinised, and they availed themselves freely of the assistance of foreign experts, French, German, and British. But in the field of manufacture and trade their inspection of foreign models is necessarily superficial, and they are

[1] See Appendix, note 66.

[2] See Appendix, note 67.

without the coöperation of foreign experts. It may be supposed that, since the foreign middleman plays such an important part in the country's over-sea commerce, his skill and experience must have been equally available for the purposes of industrial enterprise. But two difficulties stood in the way, — one legal, the other sentimental. The treaties forbade foreigners to hold real estate or engage in business outside the limits of the Settlements, thus rendering it impossible for them either to start factories on their own account or to enter into partnerships with native industrials; and an almost morbid anxiety to prove their independent competence impelled the Japanese to dispense permanently with the services of foreign employés. Rapid as has been the country's material progress, it might have been at once quicker and sounder had these restrictive treaties been revised a dozen years earlier, when Japan was still upon the threshold of her manufacturing career, and before repeated failures to obtain considerate treatment at the hands of Western Powers had prejudiced her against foreigners in all capacities. In 1885 she was ready to welcome the Occidental to every part of the country; regarded it as a matter of course that he should own real estate, and would gladly have become his partner in commerce or manufactures. In 1895 she had come to suspect that closer association with him might have dangers and disadvantages, and that the soil of Japan ought to be preserved from

falling into his possession. There are clear evidences that this mood, so injurious to her own interests, is being replaced by more liberal sentiments, but in the mean while she has been induced to stand aloof from alien aids at a time when they might have profited her immensely, and to struggle without guidance towards standards of which she has as yet only a dim perception. Already, too, some of the advantages of cheap labour[1] and inexpensive living are disappearing, and, on the whole, there seems to be little doubt that though great manufacturing successes lie before her, she will take many years to realise them.

[1] See Appendix, note 68.

Appendix

Appendix

NOTE 1. — The *nobori* is a species of flag, or standard. A strip of cotton cloth, varying in length from three or four feet to thirty or forty, and in width from a few inches to a yard, is fastened at both ends to bamboo rollers, and attached lengthwise to a long bamboo pole capped with a gilt ball. On the cloth large ideographs designating the occasion are inscribed. The *nobori* looks like an extravagantly elongated sail bellying in the wind.

NOTE 2. — The name of a place in Tōkyō where wrestling-matches are held annually to determine the national champions.

NOTE 3. — The "Willow Bridge" is the name of a district in Tōkyō celebrated as a resort of the *geisha* (*danseuse*) class.

NOTE 4. —

Fuki-kaeru
Yeyo no iki ya
Yama warau.

NOTE 5. — Rice cake (*mochi*), Japanese turnip (*daikon*), potatoes (*imo*), a species of sea-weed (*kombu*), haliotis (*awabi*), a burdock (*gobo*).

NOTE 6. — This *saké* is called *toso*, though the term is properly limited to the spices themselves. The custom came from China, where it existed certainly as far back as the third century before Christ. It is said to have originated with an old hermit who distributed among the villagers packets of physic, directing that the packet be let down by a string into the well, taken up again on New Year's day, and placed in a tub of *saké*, a draught of which would prove a preservative against every kind of disease. The practice was introduced into Japan at the beginning of the ninth century, and etiquette soon elaborated the ceremonial by prescribing a special kind of *saké* for each of the first three days of the year, — *toso*, *biyakusan*, and *toshosan*. It is *de rigueur* that the youngest of a party should be the first

to drink the spiced *saké*. As for the spices, they are chiefly carminatives.

NOTE 7. — The bit of haliotis is called *noshi*, which signifies "stretched out."

NOTE 8. — A kind of silk.

NOTE 9. — The popularity of kite-flying in Japan is indirectly attested by the ordinary manner of estimating the strength of twine. "One-sheet twine" (*ichi-mai ito*) means twine capable of holding a one-sheet kite; "two-sheet twine" (*ni-mai ito*), twine capable of holding a two-sheet kite, and so on. There is, consequently, no three-sheet twine, or five-sheet twine, etc., because kites, being square or rectangular, cannot be constructed with three, five, seven, eleven, etc. sheets of paper.

NOTE 10. — The great hall in a temple is often utilised for the purpose.

NOTE 11. — The *Eta* no longer form a separate class in the eye of the law.

NOTE 12. — It is not easy to trace the origin of this custom. In the Imperial Palace, on the 4th of the first month, it used to assume a much more elaborate form, the dancers being four, with costumes suggesting Manchurian affinities, — head-gear like a helmet, boat-shaped sandals, and long trains. The *manzai* who perform in the streets of towns and villages come from Mikawa, which province enjoys the special privilege of supplying these artists.

NOTE 13. —

Toto no tori no
Nihon no tochi ni.
Wataranu mae ni.
Suto suto ton ton ton.

NOTE 14. — Sometimes a bamboo basket is fixed on the roof to drive away demons.

NOTE 15. — In some parts of Japan there still survives a custom once common everywhere on the 15th of the first month. A pine branch is painted in five colours (black, red, white, yellow, and blue), and if a woman is struck with this *kayutsuye*, as it is called, she becomes destined to be the mother of a boy.

NOTE 16. — The festival of *Uso-kai* had its origin in Chikuzen Province. There, beginning at a date no longer ascertainable,

pious people inaugurated the custom of visiting the temple of Temman at the hour of the bird on the night of the 7th of January, and offering effigies of the *uso*. The priests distributed new effigies in exchange, and among the latter was one covered with gold-foil. The devotee to whose lot this gilded bullfinch happened to fall counted himself secure for a year against all dangers or consequences of deception. In the beginning of the present century the custom was extended to Tōkyō, where it is widely observed up to the present time. The wooden *uso* is carved from the sacred *sakaki* (*Cleyera japonica*).

NOTE 17. — Agents (*keiwan*) for the hire of domestic servants constitute a numerous and, for the most part, an unscrupulous class. Their occupation includes also letting and selling of houses and lands, but recourse to their services is avoided as much as possible by respectable folks. They depend for their fees on the success of the business entrusted to them, and it is well understood that female servants may be "procured" from a *keiwan* for purposes other than domestic employment.

NOTE 18. — Japanese tradition says that it was invented by an Indian prince during a period of imprisonment. The hybrid nature of the name *sugoroku* indicates a foreign origin.

NOTE 19. — There existed among the foreign residents at the Treaty Ports an apprehension that when they passed under Japanese jurisdiction, they would be liable to have their houses entered by the police, and the players of an innocent game of whist hauled to prison. There was no basis for such a forecast. The Japanese police cannot enter any private house without a warrant, and the possibilities of playing cards at social *réunions* without interruption are quite as large in Japan as in Europe or America.

NOTE 20. — The ox-headed monarch (*Gozu*) is often represented in Japanese pictorial and decorative art. He had passed through three cycles of existence, and ruled the stars before he descended to govern India, but perhaps because he was such a great personage, perhaps because he had the aspect of a demon and horns of a bull, he found difficulty in procuring a wife. At last, obeying the directions of a little bird with a dove-like voice, he set off for the dragon god's palace in the southern seas. He

had ridden ten thousand miles when, at sunset, he sought shelter from Kotan, the King of Southern India. But Kotan closed the gates in the face of his uncanny visitor, and when Gozu's honeymoon was over, he slaughtered the whole tribe of the inhospitable king, and divided his body into five sacrifices, to be offered up at the five seasons (*go-sekku*). According to this legend, the pine decorations at the New Year symbolise Kotan's gate; the charcoal attached to the rice-straw rope indicates his funeral censer; the red and white mirror-cake means his flesh and bones; the seven-leafed congee typifies his seven locks of hair; the cake eaten on the third day of the month represents his ear and tongue; the cake eaten on the 5th of the fifth month, his hair; the vermicelli partaken of on the 7th of the seventh month, his arteries, and the chrysanthemum-*saké* drunk on the 9th of the ninth month, the blood of his liver. No Japanese concerns himself about this revolting tradition.

NOTE 21. — The day is called *jo-nichi*, or "expulsion day."

NOTE 22. — The formula inscribed on this paper is curiously simple: "The 4th of the fourth month is an auspicious day for killing *kamisage-mushi*" (larvæ of the meat fly).

NOTE 23. — This game, probably more widely played than any other in Japan, depends upon the principle that certain objects, animate or inanimate, correspond to certain combinations of the fingers, and that the objects thus represented have relative values. The players clap and wave their hands in unison with some rhythmic chaunt, and mark the pauses of the rhythm by these digital combinations. There is an almost endless variety of methods, and the graceful dexterity displayed by experts is most charming.

NOTE 24. — Sprays of the sweet flag that have thus been exposed are believed to imbibe the medicinal dew of heaven, and are consequently placed in family baths for the invigoration of bathers.

NOTE 25. — The feet are little seen in Japanese dancing: their action is subordinate. Probably for that reason there is not a great variety of steps or a rich vocabulary of terms such as the languages of France and Scotland furnish.

NOTE 26. — The mimetic dances of Madagascar seem to have some affinity with those of Japan, so far as concerns the

events represented, but the motions and poses of the dancers are radically different. It may also be noted that the dances imitative of the movements of animals, so common among the autochthons of Africa, Asia, and Australasia, have very few parallels in Japan. The salient exception is the Dance of the Dog of Fo (*shishi-odori*), which had its origin in China.

NOTE 27. — These conceptions are all of Chinese origin.

NOTE 28. — Meaningless interjections, thrown in by the musicians.

NOTE 29. — An allusion to a method of divining.

NOTE 30. — A game in which one player guesses the number of small objects — generally fragments of a chop-stick — concealed in the hand of the other.

NOTE 31. — The Government of the Restoration (1867) distinguished itself by drastic legislation against transactions that pledged women to a life of shame. It issued a law dissolving, without reserve, all existing covenants of that nature and annulling any monetary obligations connected with them. It proclaimed that all capital invested in immoral enterprise should be treated as stolen, and that, since prostitutes and *geisha* had dehumanised themselves, moneys due by them, or by others on their account, could not be recovered; and it prescribed severe penalties for any attempt to bind a girl to degrading service. But that passion of reform was soon cooled by contact with conditions that have proved too strong for legislation in all ages, and the statesmen of Japan, finding they could not eradicate the evil, adopted the wiser course of regulating it.

NOTE 32. — There are, nevertheless, some fifteen thousand licensed *yu-jo* in Tōkyō and its suburbs. The total sum squandered yearly on this kind of debauchery by the capital, with its million and a quarter of citizens, is two and one quarter million *yen*, which is found to be an average of eighty-eight *sen* (about 45 gold cents) per head of those that spend it.

NOTE 33. — A boat having its middle part covered by a roof (*yane*) under which the pleasure-seekers sit.

NOTE 34. — The *rakugo-ka* uses a fan only at his performance. He is not provided with the paper baton (*hari*) of the *koshaku-shi*. This trifling difference is nevertheless characteristic.

NOTE 35. — Anrakuan Shakuden, originally called Hira-

hayashi Heidayu, a name which signifies that he possessed expert musical skill.

NOTE 36. — The remuneration earned by the *koshaku-shi* is small. There are three classes distinguished by degrees of skill. A third-class expert receives one *rin* per head of audience. Hence two hundred hearers — a good "house" — means twenty *sen* (ten cents gold). A first-class performer is entitled to ten times that amount. Thus his attendance at a *yose* generally brings him a dollar (gold). He may give a *koshaku* at two or even three *yose* daily, and he is often invited to social *réunions*, when his guerdon varies from a dollar and a half to four or even five dollars. But there are not more than ten masters in all Japan whose reputation secures lucrative private patronage.

NOTE 37. — The origin of the term is interesting. When the Imperial Court was at Nara (eighth century), pestilential vapours were found to proceed from a cave near one of the temples. The dance of *Okina Sanbaso*, to which allusion has been made in speaking of New Year observances, was danced on the sward before the cave to dispel the evil influence, and people spoke of the performance as *shibai*, in allusion to the place where it was held.

NOTE 38. — It was called *kabuki*, of which the ideographic significance is a performance (*ki*) of song (*ka*) and dance (*bu*). As to the origin of the word, however, some allege that it was a corruption of *katamuki*, to sway or overturn, and that it was used with reference to the transports of delight into which the audience ought to be thrown by such displays of skill. However that may be, the point to be noted is that the popular form of mime was named *kabuki*, as distinguished from the aristocratic *no*. To this day one of the principal theatres in Tōkyō is called *Kabuki-za*, and the term might be properly applied to any place employed for histrionic representations.

NOTE 39. — There is a well-known and fairly well attested story that, on the occasion of a conflagration at a theatre, one of these male actresses thought only of saving his hand-mirror. That they are constantly courted by amorous rustics unacquainted with theatrical usages is certain.

NOTE 40. — *Mono-mane kyogen*, which literally signifies "imitative *divertissement*." *Kyogen*, in its original sense, means farci-

cal, or burlesque, language, but was used with reference to the entertainment furnished by the choric monologues rather than to any extravagance in their diction.

NOTE 41. — The *Oban* (large plate) did not consist of pure gold. It contained about sixty-eight per cent of gold and twenty-nine per cent of silver.

NOTE 42. — A cheque, or commercial note, is still called *te-gata* (lit. hand-shape), evidently from the fact that in early times the impression of the thumb was the common method of signature. Sometimes the whole hand was impressed.

NOTE 43. — The fact that they were market towns in the old days may be gathered from the names that some places still retain; as *Yokka-ichi* (fourth-day market), *Yōka-ichi* (eighth-day market), *Kami-ichi* (upper market), *Shimo-ichi* (lower market), etc.

NOTE 44. — This hall was called *Koro-kwan*. There were three: one in Kyōtō, one in Naniwa (Ōsaka), and one at Hakata in Chikuzen.

NOTE 45. — They were called *toimaru*, a term now obsolete.

NOTE 46. — These were known as *kaisen*, in mediæval phraseology.

NOTE 47. — The interior dimensions of the *masu* as prescribed by the *Taikō's* legislation were 5.1 inches by 5.15 inches by 2.45 inches. Japanese joiners found no difficulty in conforming with these measurements. The object of the legislator was to contrive a measure which should contain a fraction less than 1 *sho* (or 10 *go*). The *masu* here indicated had a capacity of 9.86 *go*.

NOTE 48. — This *céladon* is called *Tenryu-seiji*, *seiji* (green ware) being the general name given to *céladon* in Japan. (*Vide* chapter on porcelain and pottery.)

NOTE 49. — There has been some dispute about these facts, but they appear to be historical. It is on record that Yoshimitsu went to Hyōgo to meet a Chinese ambassador; that he wore a Chinese costume to receive his guest and rode in a Chinese palanquin to the place of meeting.

NOTE 50. — Nanking was the residence of the Chinese Court until the year 1412, when Peking became the capital.

NOTE 51. — The reader should perhaps be warned against

basing any inference on the apparent sequence of events as here described. It was not in the cause of inter-state trade that the *Taikō* invaded Korea. Her continued refusal to open her ports to the fleet of over fifty Japanese vessels which twenty-three feudal houses had been in the habit of sending every year, probably prejudiced Hideyoshi against her, but his proximate purpose was to use her as a basis for attacking China.

NOTE 52. — It is recorded that when this trade flourished, the total yearly sales made to Chinese dealers at Nagasaki were a million pounds, approximately. An idea of the development of Japan's foreign commerce in modern times may be gathered by comparing that figure with her present annual sales of marine products, namely, one hundred and eleven million pounds.

NOTE 53. — He was consequently known in commercial circles as Yamato-ya.

NOTE 54. — At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Yedo confederation paid nearly £20,000 to the Government.

NOTE 55. — In 1725, when the population of Yedo was about three-quarters of a million, the merchandise that entered the city was 861,893 bags of rice; 795,856 casks of *saké*; 132,829 casks of fish-sauce; 18,209,987 bundles of firewood; 809,790 bags of charcoal; 90,811 tubs of oil; 1,670,880 bags of salt, and 3,613,500 pieces of cotton cloth.

NOTE 56. — This shipping guild was called *Higaki-kaisen* (water caltrops company), a name derived from the form of the bulwark railings. In 1730 the business of carrying *saké* was entrusted to another company, the *Taru-kaisen* (barrel company), and the two subsequently engaged in a competition which is still well remembered in Yedo and Ōsaka.

NOTE 57. — The figures were chiefly influenced by the quality of the coins issuing from the mint. From 1608 to 1643 the current price of a *riyo* was 4,000 copper cash (4 *kwan*); but in 1842 it was 6,500 cash and in 1859, 8,688 cash. As to gold and silver, a *riyo* of gold was the equivalent of 65 *momme* of silver; in 1733, the *riyo* was 61.2 *momme*; in 1789, 55.4 *momme*; in 1825, 64.3 *momme*, and in 1864, 85.5 *momme*.

NOTE 58. — One-tenth of everything below water and one-

twentieth of everything above, if at sea; the corresponding figures in the case of a river being one-twentieth and one-thirtieth, respectively.

NOTE 59. — When cargo had been jettisoned, a full report of the facts had to be made to the officials at the first port of call, who then examined the remaining cargo and sealed it, pending delivery to its consignees. Severe penalties restrained fraudulent jettison, and when a deserted ship drifted ashore, the local officials were required to retain the hull and cargo for half a year in order to give the owner time to prefer a claim. Alienation of cargo involved heavy punishment, and for the offence of selling a vessel and her cargo under pretence of wreck, the master and officers were beheaded; the crew scourged and branded on the face. Collusion between a village headman and a ship-master to simulate unavoidable jettison of cargo which had been fraudulently sold, constituted a capital crime; the receiver of the stolen goods was also liable to decapitation, and a confederate exposed himself to transportation or expulsion from his village.

NOTE 60. — An attempt made in 1842 to fix the maximum limit of interest at fifteen per cent, failed completely. It checked the circulation of money, and borrowers themselves sought to evade it.

NOTE 61. — This is the figure confidently stated in a despatch addressed by the British Representative in Yedo to his Government in 1860.

NOTE 62. — Japan's fishing industry is doubtless capable of great development. She has 17,602 miles of coast, and 270,000 families devoted to fishing, or more than fifteen families to each mile. They employ 330,706 boats and 1,194,408 nets, representing a capital of about three millions sterling, and the total value of the annual catch is put at five millions sterling, though ten millions would probably be nearer the truth. The fishermen are sturdy, courageous fellows, but their methods are primitive and virtually no improvements have yet been introduced.

NOTE 63. — It was at one time supposed that Japan possessed great mineral wealth, but the question remains uncertain. The output of the various mines increases steadily, it is true, but its total annual value does not exceed three millions sterling.

Recently gold has been discovered in seemingly large quantities in Hokkaido and kerosene in Echigo as well as Hokkaido. The practical value of these discoveries remains to be determined.

NOTE 64. — The Japanese have been skilled weavers for many centuries, but a great impetus was given to this enterprise by the introduction of improved machinery and the use of aniline dyes after the opening of the country to foreign intercourse. Indigo has always been the staple dye stuff of the country. Twenty million *yen* worth is produced annually. But for colours other than blue and its various tones, aniline dyes are now imported to the extent of one and a fourth million *yen* yearly. The growth of the textile industry has also been greatly stimulated by the introduction of cotton yarns of fine and uniform quality. Formerly all cotton cloths were woven out of coarse, irregular handspun yarns, so that nothing like regularity of weight and texture could be secured. It thus appears that Japan owes the remarkable development of her textile industry to foreign intercourse.

NOTE 65. — Japanese mills are kept at work twenty-three hours out of the twenty-four, with one shift of operatives, and their production per spindle is forty per cent greater than the production of Bombay mills and nearly double of the production of English mills.

NOTE 66. — The railways and posts constitute additional examples. The Japanese have long been able to survey, plan and build their own lines of railways, to run the trains and to manage the traffic. For these achievements they deserve much credit. But their arrangements for handling, forwarding, and delivering goods are very defective, when judged by good Occidental standards, and their provision for the comfort of passengers leaves a great deal to be desired. So, too, their postal service invites criticism in some very important respects, if it merits praise in others. All such defects would soon be corrected if free recourse were had to the assistance of foreign experts, who have the advantage of familiarity with higher standards. It is unfortunate that a people so liberal in their adoption of the best products of Western civilisation, should hesitate to avail themselves of the best means of learning to utilise them.

APPENDIX

NOTE 67. — Another serious obstacle to the industrial development of the Japanese is their difficulty in deciphering foreign tastes. It results that in fields where their capacity is highest, their success is often smallest. They export some two millions of umbrellas at a cost of 10½*d.* apiece; thirty thousand pairs of boots at 11¼*d.* a pair, and a hundred and ninety thousand dozen pairs of socks at 1*s.* 3*d.* a dozen. There can be no mistake about the shape and style of these things: a pattern alone suffices for guide. But, on the other hand, take the case of lacquer. In the quality and beauty of their lacquer the Japanese stand easily at the head of all nations. There, if anywhere, they should be able to defy rivalry. Yet what are the facts? Japanese lacquer experts, in their attempts to capture the New York market, have been distanced by Germans, who gauge the taste of the Americans with much greater accuracy, and produce lacquers better appreciated and cheaper than those of the Japanese themselves, — not finer lacquer indeed, nor nearly so fine, but better suited to the immediate purpose of its manufacturers.

NOTE 68. — The average daily wage of twenty-six classes of labourers in 1885 was 15¼ *sen per diem*, whereas in 1900 it was 47¾ *sen*.

EMPERORS OF JAPAN

The earlier names are posthumous and the rulers legendary. Empresses are given in *italics*

Order.	Name.	Date of Reign.	Relation to previous Ruler.
1.	Jimmu	660–585 B.C.	—
2.	Suizei	581–549 B.C.	Son.
3.	Annei	548–510 B.C.	Son.
4.	Itoku	510–475 B.C.	Son.
5.	Kōshō	475–392 B.C.	Son.
6.	Kōan	392–290 B.C.	Son.
7.	Kōrei	290–214 B.C.	Brother.
8.	Kōgen	214–157 B.C.	Son.
9.	Kaikwa	157–97 B.C.	Son.
10.	Sujin	97–29 B.C.	Son.
11.	Suinin	29 B.C.–71 A.D.	Son.
12.	Keikō	71–131	Son.
13.	Seimu	131–192	Son.
14.	Chuai	192–201	Nephew.
15.	*Jingo*	201–270	Wife (regency).
16.	Ōjin	270–313	Son.
17.	Nintoku	313–400	Son.
18.	Richu	400–405	Son.
19.	Hanshō	405–411	Brother.
20.	Ingyo	411–453	Brother.
21.	Ankō	453–456	Son.
22.	Yuraku	457–480	Brother.
23.	Seinei	480–485	Son.
24.	Kenso	485–488	Grandson of 18.
25.	Ninken	488–499	Grandson of 18.
26.	Buretsu	499–507	Son.
27.	Keitai	507–534	Fifth in descent from 16.
28.	Ankan	534–536	Son.
29.	Senkwa	536–540	Brother.
30.	Kimmei	540–572	Brother.

APPENDIX

Order.	Name.	Date of Reign.	Relation to previous Ruler.
31.	Bidatsu	572–586	Son.
32.	Yomei	586–588	Brother.
33.	Susun	588–592	Brother.
34.	*Suikō*	592–629	Sister.
35.	Shōmei	629–642	Grandson of 31.
36.	*Kōgyoku*	642–645	Wife of 35; descendant of 31.
37.	Kōtoku	645–655	Brother.
38.	*Saimei*	655–661	Same ruler as 36.
39.	Tenchi[1]	668–672	Son of 35.
40.	Kōbun	672–673	Son.
41.	Temmu	673–690	Uncle.
42.	*Jito*	690–696	Daughter of 39.
43.	Mommu	697–708	Grandson of 41.
44.	*Gemmyo*	708–715	Mother.
45.	*Genshō*	715–724	Sister of 43.
46.	Shōmu	724–749	Son of 43.
47.	*Kōken*	749–759	Daughter.
48.	Junnin	759–765	Grandson of 41.
49.	*Shōtoku*	765–770	Same ruler as 47.
50.	Konin	770–782	Grandson of 39.
51.	Kwammu	782–806	Son.
52.	Heizei	806–810	Son.
53.	Saga	810–824	Brother.
54.	Junna	824–834	Brother.
55.	Nimmyo	834–851	Son of 53.
56.	Montoku	851–856	Son.
57.	Seiwa	856–877	Son.
58.	Yozei	877–885	Son.
59.	Kōkō	885–888	Son of 55.
60.	Uda	888–898	Son.
61.	Daigo	898–931	Son.
62.	Suzaku	931–947	Son.
63.	Murikami	947–968	Brother.
64.	Reizei	968–970	Son.
65.	Enyu	970–985	Brother.
66.	Kwazan	985–987	Son of 64.
67.	Ichijō	987–1012	Son of 65.
68.	Sanjō	1012–1017	Brother of 66.
69.	Goichijō[2]	1017–1037	Son of 67.

[1] An interregnum.

[2] The prefix "Go" is equivalent to "second."

APPENDIX

Order.	Name.	Date of Rule.	Relation to previous Ruler.
70.	Gosuzaku	1037–1046	Brother.
71.	Goreizei	1046–1069	Son.
72.	Gosanjō	1069–1073	Brother.
73.	Shirakawa	1073–1087	Son.
74.	Horikawa	1087–1108	Son.
75.	Toba	1108–1124	Son.
76.	Sutōku	1124–1142	Son.
77.	Kōnoye	1142–1156	Son of 75.
78.	*Goshirakawa*	1156–1159	Sister.
79.	Nijō	1159–1166	Son.
80.	Rokujō	1166–1169	Son.
81.	Takakura	1169–1180	Son of 78.
82.	Antoku	1180–1186	Son.
83.	Gotoba	1186–1199	Brother.
84.	Tsuchimikado	1199–1211	Son.
85.	Juntoku	1211–1222	Brother.
86.	Chukyo	1222	Son.
87.	Gohorikawa	1222–1233	Grandson of 81.
88.	Shijō	1233–1243	Son.
89.	Gosaga	1243–1247	Son of 84.
90.	Gofukakusa	1247–1266	Son.
91.	Kameyama	1266–1276	Brother.
92.	Gouda	1276–1288	Son.
93.	Fushimi	1288–1299	Son of 90.
94.	Gofushimi	1299–1301	Son.
95.	Gonijō	1301–1308	Son of 92.
96.	Hanazono	1308–1319	Son of 93.
97.	Godaigo	1319–1339	Son of 92.
98.	Gomurikami	1339–1368	Son.
99.	Chōkei	1368–1370	Son.
100.	Gokameyama	1370–1393	Brother.
101.	Gokōmatsu	1393–1412	Same ruler as VI.
102.	Shōkō	1413–1429	Son.
103.	Gohanazono	1429–1465	Son.
104.	Gotsuchimikado	1465–1501	Son.
105.	Gokashiwabara	1501–1527	Son.
106.	Gonara	1527–1558	Son.
107.	Ōgimachi	1558–1587	Son.
108.	Goyozei	1587–1612	Son.
109.	Gomioo	1612–1630	Son.
110.	*Myoshō*	1630–1644	Daughter.

APPENDIX

Order.	Name.	Date of Reign.	Relation to previous Ruler.
111.	Gokōmyo	1644–1655 . .	Brother.
112.	Gosai-in	1655–1663 . .	Brother.
113.	Reigen	1663–1687 . .	Brother.
114.	Higashiyama . . .	1687–1710 . .	Son.
115.	Nakamikado . . .	1710–1736 . .	Son.
116.	Sakuramachi . . .	1736–1747 . .	Son.
117.	Momozono . . .	1747–1763 . .	Son.
118.	*Gosakuramachi* . .	1763–1771 . .	Sister.
119.	Gomomozono . . .	1771–1780 . .	Son.
120.	Kōkaku	1780–1817 . .	Great-grandson of 113.
121.	Ninkō	1817–1847 . .	Son.
122.	Kōmei	1847–1867 . .	Son.
123.	Mutsuhito	1867– . .	Son

EMPERORS OF THE NORTHERN DYNASTY

I.	Kōgen	1332–1336 . .	Descendant of 90.
II.	Kōmyo.	1336–1349 . .	Brother.
III.	Sukō	1349–1352 . .	Son of I.
IV.	Gokōgon	1352–1372 . .	Brother.
V.	Goenyu	1372–1383 . .	Son.
VI	Gokōmatsu . . .	1383–1393 . .	Son.

SHOGUNS OF JAPAN

MINAMOTO

Order.	Name.	Date of Rule.	Relation to previous Ruler.
1.	Yoritomo	1192–1199	—

UNDER HŌJŌ VICEGERENCY

Minamoto

2.	Yoriiye	1200–1203	Son.
3.	Sanetomo	1203–1219	Brother.

Fujiwara.

4.	Yoritsune	1220–1244	—
5.	Yoritsuga	1244–1252	Son.

Imperial Cadets

6.	Munetaka	1252–1266	Son of Gosaga.
7.	Koreyasu	1266–1289	Son.
8.	Hisakira	1289–1308	Son of Gofukakusa.
9.	Morikuni	1308–1333	Son.

HŌJŌ VICEGERENTS

1.	Tokimasa	1200–1205	—
2.	Yoshitoki	1205–1225	Son.
3.	Yasutoki	1225–1242	Son.
4.	Tsunetoki	1242–1246	Grandson.
5.	Tokiyori	1246–1256	Brother.
6.	Tokimune	1256–1284	Son.
7.	Sadatoki	1284–1311	Son.
8.	Takatoki	1311–1333	Son.

APPENDIX

Order.	Name.	Date of Rule.	Relation to previous Ruler.
	ASHIKAGA		
1.	Takauji	1335–1358	—
2.	Yoshiakira	1358–1368	Son.
3.	Yoshimitsu	1368–1394	Son.
4.	Yoshimochi	1394–1428	Son.
5.	Yoshinori	1428–1441	Brother.
6.	Yoshikazu	1441–1443	Son.
7.	Yoshimasa	1443–1473	Brother.
8.	Yoshihisa	1473–1489	Son.
9.	Yoshitane	1490–1493	Nephew of 7.
10.	Yoshizumi	1493–1508	Son of 5.
11.	Yoshitane	1508–1521	Same as 9.
12.	Yoshiharu	1521–1546	Son of 10.
13.	Yoshiteru	1546–1565	Son.
14.	Yoshiaki	1568–1573	Brother. Deposed by Nobunaga.
	TOKUGAWA		
1.	Iyeyasu	1603–1605	Exercised real power until death in 1616.
2.	Hidetata	1605–1623	Son.
3.	Iyemitsu	1623–1651	Son.
4.	Iyetsuna	1651–1680	Son.
5.	Tsunayoshi	1680–1709	Brother.
6.	Iyenobu	1709–1713	Grandson of 3.
7.	Iyetsugu	1713–1716	Son.
8.	Yoshimune	1716–1745	Great-grandson of 1.
9.	Iyeshige	1745–1760	Son.
10.	Iyeharu	1760–1786	Son.
11.	Iyenari	1786–1838	Great-grandson of 8.
12.	Iyenoshi	1838–1853	Son.
13.	Iyesada	1853–1858	Son.
14.	Iyemochi	1858–1866	Grandson of 11.
15.	Keiki	1866–1867	Member of the house of Mito, and adopted by the Hitotsubashi house.

TABLE OF DATES

660 B.C.	Jimmu's accession — legendary.
202 A.D.	Jingo's invasion of Korea.
294	Influx of Chinese colonists: introduction of ideographs.
399	Introduction of silkworms.
552	Introduction of Buddhism.
604	Calendar introduced.
604	Shotoku's constitution.
645–703	Taikwa Reform.
670	Beginning of Fujiwara dominance.
709–784	Nara epoch.
712	Oldest extant Japanese book published.
770	Printing introduced.
794–1186	Heian epoch.
794	Kyōtō becomes the capital.
805	Creation of the Taira family.
814	Creation of the Minamoto family.
816	*Shingon* sect founded.
1156	Victory of the Taira over the Minamoto.
1174	Pure Land sect founded.
1185	Minamoto clan destroys the Taira.
1186–1600	Military epoch.
1192	Establishment of the shogunate.
1200–1333	Hōjō control as vicegerents.
1224	Spirit sect founded.
1253	Nichiren sect founded.
1274	Repulse of first Mongol invasion.
1281	Repulse of great Mongol invasion.
1332–1393	Dual monarchy.
1335–1573	Ashikaga Shōguns.
1542	First arrival of the Portuguese.
1549	St. Francis Xavier introduces Christianity.
1573–1582	Control of Nobunaga.
1582–1598	Control of Hideyoshi.
1587	First persecution of Christians.
1590	Yedo (Tōkyō) founded.

APPENDIX

1592–1598	Invasion of Korea.
1600–1867	Tokugawa epoch.
1600	Battle of Sekigahara establishes Tokugawa supremacy.
1603	First Tokugawa Shōgun.
1614	Christianity interdicted.
1624	Period of isolation begins.
1637	Shimabara revolt.
1690–1692	Kämpfer visits Japan.
1703	Great earthquake at Yedo.
1707	Last eruption of Mount Fuji.
1853, July 7	Perry arrives.
1854, March 31	First treaty with the United States.
1855	Great earthquake at Yedo.
1858	Second treaty with the United States.
1858	Yokohama opened to foreign intercourse.
1863	First newspaper.
1863, August 14	Bombardment of Kagoshima.
1864, Sept. 5	Attack on Shimonoseki.
1867, Nov. 19	Shōgun resigns.
1868	Meiji epoch begins.
1868, Jan. 3	Resumption of Imperial control.
1868–1869	Imperial-Tokugawa war.
1869	Tōkyō (Yedo) becomes the capital.
1871	Abolition of feudalism.
1872, June 12	First railway opened.
1874	Gregorian calendar adopted.
1874	Expedition to Formosa.
1877	Satsuma rebellion.
1878	First local elective assemblies.
1879	Loochoo Islands annexed.
1880	Penal code established.
1884	Orders of nobility established.
1884	Buddhism disestablished.
1889, Feb. 11	Constitution promulgated.
1890	First Diet.
1891	Great earthquake at Gifu.
1894, July 31	War declared with China.
1894, Sept. 16	Battle of Pyŏng-yang.
1894, Sept. 17	Naval battle off Yalu River.
1895, April 17	Treaty of peace.
1899	Abolition of extraterritorial tribunals.
1900	Assists in suppressing the Boxer insurrection in China.

GODS AND GODDESSES

Aizen Myō-ō. The God of Love. Represented with a fierce expression, three eyes, and six arms.

Amaterasu. Goddess of the Sun. (See the Index.)

Amida. A Buddhist deity, originally an abstraction, the ideal of boundless light. The great idol at Kamakura, the *Daibutsu*, represents this god.

Anan. A cousin of the Buddha, of wonderful knowledge and memory.

Benten. A Goddess of Luck.

Binzuru. One of the Buddha's sixteen disciples, endowed with miraculous power to cure human ailments. He is much worshipped by the lower classes for this reason.

Bishamon. A God of Luck, and also of War.

Buddha. See *Shaka.*

Daikoku. A God of Luck, especially of Wealth. Represented as standing on rice bales. He is the son of Susano-ō.

Dainichi Nyorai. One of the Buddhist Trinity, the personification of wisdom and purity.

Daruma. One of the Buddha's followers, who sat in meditation so long that his legs fell off. His image is a favourite for toys, and as a tobacconist's sign.

Dosojin. The God of Roads.

Ebisu. A God of Luck and of Daily Food. He was the third child of the first pair, Izanagi and Izanami, and is represented as a fisherman.

Emma-Ō. Lord of the Buddhist Hell.

Fudo. Believed to have been originally a Brahminical god. He is a God of Wisdom and is often confounded with Dainichi.

Fukurokuju. A God of Luck. He is sometimes called Geiho and is represented with an enormously high forehead. He typifies longevity and wisdom.

Gongen. A generic name for the Shintō incarnations of the Buddha. It is also applied to the deified heroes, and especially to Iyeyasu.

Gwakkō Bosatsu. Buddhist moon-deity.

Hachiman. The God of War. The Emperor Ōjin is the person worshipped under this name. He was the special patron of the Minamoto clan.

APPENDIX

Hotei. A God of Luck. He typifies good nature, and is represented as enormously fat.

Inari. Goddess of Rice, closely associated with the fox and popularly considered the fox-deity.

Izanagi and Izanami. In Shintō mythology the first pair of creative beings. From them the gods of the Shintō pantheon are descended. Amaterasu was their first child.

Jizo. A Buddhist God of Mercy ; patron of travellers and those in trouble. He is very popular.

Jurōjin. A God of Luck.

Kishi Bojin. The protectress of children. She was first a woman, then a child-devouring demon, and finally was converted by Buddha and entered a nunnery.

Kogin. God of the Kitchen.

Kompira. A Buddhist deity of obscure origin, identified with Susano-ō and other Shintō gods. He is very popular, especially with seamen and travellers.

Kōshin. A deification of the day of the Monkey, represented by three monkeys, one blind, one deaf, one dumb, who cannot see, hear, or speak evil.

Kuni-toko-tachi. One of the self-created non-creating gods.

Kwannon. The Goddess of Mercy. She is represented in various forms, with several heads or many arms, and is one of the principal gods.

Marishiten. In Japanese Buddhism the Goddess of Heaven. She is represented with eight arms, two of which hold her symbols of the sun and moon.

Maya Bunin. The mother of the Buddha.

Minatogawa. The name under which Kusonoki Masashige is worshipped.

Miroku. The Buddhist Messiah.

Nikkō Bosatsu. Buddhist sun deity.

Ninigi. Divine grandson of Amaterasu. She sent him down to earth to govern Izumo, presenting him with the jewel, mirror, and sword which form the regalia of Japan. He was the great-grandfather of Jimmu.

Ni-ō. The two kings who guard the outer gates of temples. They are represented by gigantic figures of great hideousness.

Ōkuni-nushi. Son of Susano-ō. He ruled in Izumo, but retired in favour of Ninigi.

Saruta-hiko. A terrestrial deity who greeted Ninigi.

Sengen. The Goddess of Fuji-yama.

Shaka Muni. Gautama, the founder of Buddhism ; usually called the Buddha.

APPENDIX

Shi-Tennō. The Four Heavenly Kings who protect the earth from demons, each guarding a quarter of the horizon. Their images are placed at the inner gate of the temple, as are those of the Ni-ō at the outer one.

Sukuna-Bikona. One of the original deities, sent from heaven to assist Ōkuni-nushi in pacifying his realm.

Susano-ō. The Impetuous Male Augustness, and one of the most prominent of the Shintō gods. He was a son of the first pair and a brother of Amaterasu. He was given command of the sea, but neglected it and was banished. Later he terrified his sister and caused her to retire to a cavern, leaving creation in darkness (see the Index under Amaterasu). For this he was again expelled. Proceeding to Izumo, he became the father of the first ruler, Ōkuni-nushi. By another legend, changing the sex, she was the Moon Goddess and was banished by her sister to night service.

Tenjin (*Temman*). The deific name of Michizane (see the Index). He is worshipped as the God of Calligraphy.

Tosho. The name under which Iyeyasu was deified.

Toyokuni. The name under which Hideyoshi was deified.

Toyo-uke-bime. Shintō Goddess of Earth or Food. According to one legend, Amaterasu sent Susano-o, the Moon Goddess, down to Japan to see this food-producing goddess. Toyo-uke-bime created various forms of food for a banquet for the Moon Goddess, including rice, fish, and game. Susano-ō, becoming angry, slew the Earth Goddess. From the dead body sprang cattle, millet, beans, silkworms, and other things fit for the comfort of man. It was because of this deed that the Moon Goddess was forbidden to appear during the day.

Uzume. The goddess who danced before the cavern in which Amaterasu had hidden herself. (See the Index under Amaterasu.)

Yakushi Nyorai. One of the many incarnations of Buddha; called the Healing Buddha. To him prayers are offered for amelioration in the next life.

CELEBRATED CHARACTERS IN JAPANESE HISTORY

Adams, Will, an English pilot, arrived in Japan in 1600 and died there in 1620. He was sent to Iyeyasu as a captive, but the Shōgun, recognising his ability, retained him in official service. Adams was employed as a ship-builder and as an intermediary with the foreign traders, was granted an estate, and married to a Japanese; but he was virtually a prisoner and was not allowed to return to England. A street in Yedo, Pilot Street, is supposed to have been named after him. He was buried near Yokohama.

Antoku, the eighty-second Emperor, was a child and under the control of the Taira, of which clan his mother was a member. When the Gempei war broke out, he was carried away by his mother's kindred, and was present at the naval battle of Dan-no-ura (1185) near Shimonoseki, when the power of the Taira clan was shattered. His grandmother, seeing that escape was impossible, took the young Emperor in her arms and plunged into the sea. Both were drowned.

Asaina Saburo, a member of the Minamoto clan during the Gempei war, was noted for his wonderful physical strength.

Benkei, Yoshitsune's henchman, is the subject of many traditional exploits. Originally a robber, he was overcome by Yoshitsune, then a stripling, and became a faithful follower, spending his days battling in the young general's cause and finally dying for him. For one of the stories concerning him, see vol. iii. p. 36.

Dengyō Daishi, a Buddhist priest, spent a portion of his life in China, and on his return to Japan founded the *Tendai* sect. This was in 805. He and Kobo were the first preachers of sectarian Buddhism in Japan. He is also known as Saicho. He built the monastery of Hizei-zan.

En no Shōkaku, a Buddhist saint of the seventh century, made pilgrimages to mountain-tops. Being condemned to death, the sword broke, as in the case of Nichiren. The saint then flew away out of mortal sight.

Forty-Seven Ronins. In 1701 Asano, Lord of Akō, resented the insult of another nobleman, named Kira, by slashing him with his sword.

This happened in the Shōgun's palace, and for forgetting the sacredness of his surroundings, Asano was ordered to commit suicide, his estate was confiscated, and his clan disbanded, his retainers becoming *ronins*. Forty-seven of them, under the leadership of the senior retainer, Oishi Kuranosuke, determined to avenge their chief. In order to lull suspicion and to prevent the authorities from frustrating the vendetta, they separated and devoted themselves to different trades or gave themselves up to debauchery. At the appointed time, two years later, they met at night, attacked Kira's mansion in Yedo, killed his retainers, and, after the nobleman had shown his cowardice by refusing to commit suicide, cut off his head. They marched to the tomb of their chief amid much popular enthusiasm, and placed the severed head on it; then, in obedience to the official sentence, they committed suicide. They are buried beside their lord.

Giyogi Bosatsu (670–749), a Buddhist prelate and saint, first enunciated the doctrine of the successive incarnations of the Buddha in the forms of the Shintō deities, thus reconciling the two creeds. He took an active interest in the welfare of the people and in internal improvements.

Godaigo, the ninety-seventh Emperor, celebrated for the vicissitudes of his reign. Some of Japan's most popular heroes are associated with his fortunes. (See the Index.)

Hachinan Taro. See *Yoshiiye*.

Hideyoshi (1536–1598), one of the most famous generals of Japan, although of low birth, became, as Regent, the practical ruler of the country. He was known under a variety of names, some of them nicknames, others assumed by him at different stages of his career. His final title was that of Taikō, and his posthumous name is Toyokuni. He was a groom to Nobunaga, who recognised his ability and made him a soldier. Rising rapidly, he became his chief's greatest lieutenant and his successor in power. He possessed the *parvenu's* love of rank and desired to be Shōgun, but not being a member of the Minamoto clan, he was obliged to satisfy himself with the reality of authority without its title. His ambition extended to the conquest of the mainland, and the invasion of Korea, which he began in 1592, was the first step in this direction. The result was disastrous both to Korea and to the invading army, and when Hideyoshi died the Japanese troops were withdrawn. (See the Index.)

Inouye, Count (1839–), was one of the younger members of the Chōshiu clan who took a prominent part in the Revolution of 1867. He accompanied Itō on the secret journey to Europe which so greatly influenced the policy of both. Since the Revolution he

has often held a portfolio in the ministry, making a specialty of matters of internal improvement. He was raised to the peerage in 1885.

Ishikawa Goyemon, a famous robber who flourished at the end of the sixteenth century, and was noted for his physical strength. He was finally captured and boiled in oil with his only son, a child.

Itagaki, Count (1838–), a member of the Tosa clan, took a prominent part in the Revolution of 1867 and in the suppression of the Satsuma rebellion. He was created a count in 1887, and during his short-lived ministry in 1898 held the Home Office. (For his interest in representation and responsible ministry, see the Index.)

Itō, Marquis (1840–), was one of the young reformers of the Chōshiu clan, directing his agitation not only against the shogunate, but in favour of foreign intercourse and the assimilation of Western civilisation, a secret journey to Europe having convinced him that this was necessary to the progress of his country. He has been called the constructive statesman of the Meiji epoch. Several visits to Europe and America and a comprehensive study of their polities have furnished him with the material from which he has sifted out the principles of government that seem best suited to Japan; but his reforms have been too radical at times for the nation to follow, as was the case in 1890, when a conservative reaction drove him from the premiership. He had entered upon the duties of this office in 1886, and has held it at intervals since, his last short ministry being in 1901. Previous to his being called to the head of the government, he held the portfolios of Public Works and of Home Affairs. He drafted the Constitution. The German system of government, rather than the looser, many-sided system of America or Great Britain, is the one he has taken as his model. When the new orders of nobility were inaugurated, he was made a count; later he was raised to his present rank.

Iwakura, Prince (1825–1883), a Court noble, was but moderately opposed to the introduction of foreign intercourse, and a firm ally of the clan reformers who looked to the overthrow of the shogunate. After the Revolution of 1867, he was at the head of the new government and led the embassy sent to the treaty powers in 1872. He opposed the threatened invasion of Korea in 1874, and an attempt was made to assassinate him by some of the *samurai*, instigated by his no-war policy and by his attitude on the military-class pensions.

Iyemitsu (1604–1651), the third Tokugawa Shōgun, succeeded to the title in 1624, and firmly established the autocracy of the shogunate.

His interests were entirely domestic; he continued the proscription of the Christians and began the policy of isolation. His mausoleum, like that of his grandfather Iyeyasu, is at Nikkō. (See the Index.)

Iyeyasu (1542–1616), the first Tokugawa Shōgun, began his career under Nobunaga and Hideyoshi, though at one time he was opposed to the latter. He was pledged by Hideyoshi to protect the interests of the latter's son, but, disregarding the promise, he secured control for himself, winning his final victory in 1600 at Seki-ga-hara. In 1590 he had made Yedo the capital of the district over which Hideyoshi had appointed him as ruler, and he now established there the military seat of the nation. As he belonged to the Minamoto clan, he received the title of Shōgun in 1603; and while he manipulated the feudatories so as to prevent them from combining against his autocracy, on the other hand he secluded the Emperor from all contact with the outside world, and deprived him of everything but the semblance of power. He interested himself in internal improvements, patronised the arts and literature, and left a "legacy" of maxims and rules of conduct, which, however, cannot be considered as a code of laws according to the modern conception of that term. Although he resigned in favour of his son in 1605, he continued to exercise the real authority during the remainder of his life. He is worshipped under the name of Tosho or Gongen Sama, and his mausoleum at Nikkō is one of the show places of Japan. (See the Index.)

Jimmu, the mythical first mortal ruler of Japan, was the great-grandchild of Ninigi (q. v. in the list of Gods), and therefore fifth in descent from the Sun Goddess. The legend gives 660 B. C. as the date of his accession, and conducts him through a series of military enterprises and miraculous occurrences. (See the Index.)

Jingo, a legendary female ruler, is said to have concealed the death of her husband, the Emperor Chuai, and to have governed as regent from 201 to 270. She is credited with a successful invasion of Korea, during the three years of which she held the future Emperor Ōjin in her womb. It is probably because of this fact that Ōjin is worshipped as the God of War, Hachiman. (See the Index.)

Katō Kiyomasa, one of Hideyoshi's generals, was, like his commander, of low birth. His exploits in Korea and his persecution of the Christians made him a popular hero. He is worshipped under the name of Sei Shōkō.

Kido Takayoshi (1833–1877), one of the Chōshiu reformers, wrote the address to the Throne which secured the abolition of the feudal system, was a Privy Councillor in the new government and one of

the envoys to America and Europe in 1872. Later he was a member of the Cabinet. He believed in popular representation and in popular discussion, established one of the first newspapers in Japan, and was the author of the measure for local assemblies.

Kiyomori (1118–1181) was a son of Taira Tadamori, who bequeathed to him in 1153 the leadership of the clan. In a contest originating in rival claims to the Imperial succession, he defeated the Minamoto clan in 1156, and obtained possession of the Emperor and the whole of the administration. He endeavoured to destroy the rival house and filled all the offices with his own kindred. He was arrogant toward the nobles and oppressed the people, so that while he remained virtual ruler during his life, the power of his house was completely shattered by the Minamoto within five years of his death. (See the Index.)

Kōbō Daishi (774–834) was a famous Buddhist prelate and saint, popularly credited with an infinite number of achievements, including the invention of the Japanese syllabary. He was sent to China, and on his return in 816, founded the *Shingon* sect, sharing with Dengyō the honour of being the earliest preacher of sectarian Buddhism in Japan. His life name was Kōhai.

Kojima Takanori. When in 1330 the Hōjō vicegerent put down a revolt against his power, he sent the Emperor Godaigo into exile. *En route* an attempt at rescue was made by Kojimi Takanori, a young nobleman, son of the lord of Bingo. The attempt failed, and his followers refused to renew it. Anxious that the Emperor should know that he had not been forgotten, the young nobleman entered the court of the inn where Godaigo was passing the night, and on the inner bark of a cherry-tree, which is the emblem of loyalty, wrote these lines : —

"O Heaven ! destroy not Kosen
While Hanrei still lives."

The allusion, which was to a Chinese king rescued from a similar fate by a faithful retainer, was understood by the Emperor, but not by his ignorant guard. The incident appealed to the æsthetic sense of the Japanese, and has been made the subject of many works of art. Later, Kojima fell fighting for the Emperor.

Kōmon, Prince of Mito (1622–1700), was the second chief of that branch of the Tokugawa clan. He made his capital an intellectual centre, and began the composition of the "History of Japan," which became a great authority for those who desired to rehabilitate the Imperial power. As one phase of this tendency, he patronised the "pure" Shintō movement, which professed to restore the Way

of the Gods to its pre-Buddhistic condition as a basis of the divine origin and right of the Emperor. (See the Index.)

Kumagai Naozane was a famous Minamoto warrior. During a siege of the Gempei war, he challenged a Taira, about to depart from the besieged fort. The Taira, who was a noble youth named Atsumori, accepted the combat, and soon succumbed to his older antagonist. Tearing off the helmet of his victim, Naozane was filled with pity by the youth and beauty of the face thus revealed, resembling that of his lately fallen son. He determined at first to let Atsumori escape, but finally, steeling his heart, he cut off the head, and carried it to his commander, Yoshitsune; then, overwhelmed by remorse, he refused all rewards, abandoned his career, and became a Buddhist monk. The incident has been often reproduced by artists, and dramatised.

Kusunoki Masashige was one of the heroes of the court of the Emperor Godaigo, and is worshipped as the *beau ideal* of stainless loyalty. He made the restoration of the Imperial power the aim of his life, but his first attempt in 1331 was unsuccessful. He assisted in overcoming the Hōjō domination in 1333, and when Takauji turned his sword against the Emperor, Masashige drove him from the capital. But the loyal success ended here. Masashige's plans for destroying the Ashikaga general were rejected and their author accused of cowardice. In answer to the taunt, he gathered a small body of his followers and charged upon the main body of the enemy. All were quickly slain except fifty, and with these Masashige retired and committed suicide. (See the Index.)

Masa, daughter of Hōjō Tokimasa, was one of the famous women of Japan. She was wooed and won by Yoritomo under romantic circumstances, and contributed largely to his rise. After his death, she turned her unusual intellectual and administrative ability to fostering the power of her own house, the Hōjō, at the expense of her husband's, the Minamoto. (See the Index.)

Masakado, a prominent member of the Taira clan in the tenth century, was one of the historic rebels of Japan. He was a governor in the East, but aspired to the control of the whole section, and set himself up as a pseudo-Emperor. Against him the Imperial Court sent an army and invoked divine aid through a miraculous image of Fudo. Masakado was defeated and slain, but his spirit continued to trouble the neighbourhood of what is now Tōkyō, and to appease it a shrine was erected. The rebel thus became a tutelary divinity. When the Imperial troops entered Yedo in 1868, they destroyed the image, but Masakado is still reverenced as the embodiment of daring.

APPENDIX

Michizane. (See the Index.)

Mori, Viscouut (1848–1889), a member of the Satsuma clan, was sent abroad to study, being out of the country during the Revolution. On his return, he took part in the reforms inaugurated by the new government, especially in those relating to the abolition of feudalism. Later, he held diplomatic positions at Washington and London, and in 1885, having been ennobled, received the portfolio of Education. He was assassinated by a religious fanatic on the day the Constitution was proclaimed.

Moriyoshi, son of Godaigo, was made Shōgun after the fall of the Hōjō family. This excited the jealousy of Takauji, who managed to poison the mind of the Emperor against the prince, telling him that his son aspired to the throne. Godaigo pronounced Moriyoshi a rebel, and gave Takauji power to punish him. The unfortunate prince was taken to Kamakura, imprisoned, and secretly murdered. Later the Emperor had full reason to regret his rash act, and to consider his son as a martyr to loyalty.

Nichiren (1222–1282), a Buddhist saint and sectarian, founded the popular sect which bears his name, called by Griffis the "Ranters of Buddhism." His tenets were extreme, his attacks on the other sects virulent; and this theological bitterness bred an equally bitter enmity among his opponents, that resulted in his banishment. Returning after three years, he continued his proselyting with increased vehemence and was condemned to death. As in the case of En no Shōkaku, the sword was broken by heavenly interposition, and the saintliness of the condemned man being thus undeniably established, he was released, but again exiled. A general amnesty brought about his return, and for the remainder of his life he preached unmolested to the crowds of disciples attracted by his creed and methods.

Nitta Yoshisada (1299–1338), a descendant of Yoritomo, was a captain in the Hōjō forces, but refused in 1330 to fight against the Imperial army and raised a standard of revolt against the vicegerency and in favour of the Emperor. Marching against Kamakura, as the story goes, he cast his sword into the sea, and prayed the God of the Sea to consider his loyalty and open a path across. Next morning the waves had receded, and his army marched across on the dry strand to the attack on the Hōjō capital. It fell, and with it the power of the vicegerency (1333). In the subsequent war between the Emperor and Takauji, Nitta Yoshisada was one of the great captains. The Ashikaga general defeated him and drove him from Kyōtō in 1336, and two years later attacked him in the North with an overwhelming force. Mortally wounded, Yoshisada

is said to have cut off his own head in order to prevent identification. He and Kusunoki Masashige are the popular heroes of that period of rampant disloyalty.

Nobunaga (1534–1582), one of the three greatest generals of Japan, was a Tōkaidō chieftain of Taira extraction. In the general anarchy then existing, he followed the fashion and made war on his neighbours, gradually acquiring great power. He supported the claim of Yoshiaki to the Ashikaga shogunate, but in 1573 deposed him and took the power into his own hands. Not being a Minamoto, he could not be Shōgun, and his lack of administrative power prevented his victories from having any lasting value, so that he never exercised the control that was enjoyed by his successors, Hideyoshi and Iyeyasu. He encouraged Christianity, but merely because he hated the Buddhists. He waged remorseless war upon the sacerdotal soldiers of the great monasteries, and his destruction of Hiyei-zan and Hongwan-ji was accompanied by indiscriminate slaughter. His aim in life was a noble one, to rehabilitate the Imperial power, and he looked upon the great strongholds of Buddhism as the chief obstacle to this consummation. He was assassinated by one of his captains, who objected to being the subject of a practical joke. (See the Index.)

Okubo Toshimitsu (1830–1878), a member of the Satsuma clan and one of the most prominent of its reformers, became, after the overthrow of the shogunate, a leading organiser of the new Imperial government. He was the great interpreter of foreign ideas, and made the foreign policy of Japan his special field. His ideal was a strongly centralised government — a personal government — which could force the reforms it deemed necessary. He was active in suppressing the rebellion of his clan, and within a few months was assassinated by some of the soldiers of the defeated province.

Okuma, Count (1837–), made a specialty of financial measures in the reorganised Imperial government. In 1889 an attempt was made to assassinate him, his leg being blown off by dynamite. (For other details, see the Index.)

Saigo Takamori (1827–1877), Kido, and Okubo were considered the greatest of the early reformers. Saigo was a prominent retainer in the Satsuma clan, and in the development of his career it became evident that it was against the Tokugawa control rather than for "enlightened government" that he had battled. He commanded the Imperial forces in the war with the shogunate in 1868, and advocated war with Korea in 1873. Disappointed in this and finding himself unable to follow in the paths of the more radical

reformers, he resigned from the government and retired to Satsuma, where he began to plan the rebellion that broke out in 1877, and ended with his overthrow and death. (See the Index.) The rebel has now been forgotten and only the brilliant services in behalf of the Imperial power remembered. In 1890 the ban of degradation was removed and all his honours restored posthumously, after the Japanese custom. More recently a monument has been erected to his memory.

Sanjo, Prince (1836–1891), was one of the radical anti-foreign leaders at the Imperial Court, but became converted, while in exile at Chōshiu, to the necessity of terminating the period of isolation. His position at Court made him a valuable ally to the clan reformers and an important factor in the Revolution and the new government. From 1871 to 1886 he was at the head of the ministry. In the new order of nobility he held the highest rank.

Shinran Shōnin (1173–1262) founded a sect known as the Protestants of Buddhism. He preached salvation by faith alone, denied the efficacy of celibacy, disapproved of monasteries, and had the Scriptures written in the vernacular. The sect is variously known as Shin, Ikkō, and Monto. It became very militant, and its great temple, Hongwan-ji, was destroyed by Nobunaga. In the present epoch Shinran has been given the posthumous name of Kenshin Daishi.

Shotoku (572–621), son of the Emperor Yomei and Regent during the reign of his aunt Suikō, is known not only for his championship of Buddhism, but also for his reforms in the government. He is credited with having written a history of his country and with having introduced the Chinese calendar. (For his constitution and other details, see the Index.)

Takauji (died in 1358), the first of the Ashikaga Shōguns, was of Minamoto descent, and received his title from the Emperor of the Northern or usurping Dynasty, which he had set up. (See the Index.)

Takeda Shingen (1521–1573) was one of the Tōkaidō chieftains who obtained prominence during the period of anarchy that closed the rule of the Ashikaga Shōguns. He waged war upon all of his neighbours, but especially upon Uyesugi Kenshin, and as a warrior was considered a peer of Nobunaga. They did not, however, come into conflict. His conquests aided in restoring order to the land, for what he gained he kept, and to his bravery he joined the power of administration, which Nobunaga did not possess.

Takenouchi no Sukune was a legendary Prime Minister who served six

Emperors. He is said to have lived 255 or 360 years, and to have been born about 200 B.C.

Tametone was the most famous of the Minamoto archers, a clan noted for skill in that exercise. The legend also endows him with marvellous strength. Though captured by the Taira and mutilated, he escaped and fled to the islands to the southward. As to what happened then, the legends disagree. According to one, he was pursued, and after sinking one of the Tairo boats by means of an arrow, committed suicide. Another account says that he went to the Loochoo Islands and ruled over the people there. (See the Index.)

Yamato-take (77–113), a son of the Emperor Keiko and a great hero of the legendary days, was sent while still a youth to overcome the western rebels. This he did by disguising himself as a girl, and when the rebel chieftains had fallen victims to his charms, he drew his concealed sword and slew them. Then, obtaining the sacred sword from the shrine of Ise, he set out against the eastern Ainos. These he subdued after many adventures, and on his return march over the mountains had encounters with good and evil spirits, finally dying before he could reach his father's Court. His achievements are enshrined in many legends and have left their mark upon the names of various places. Many temples are dedicated to him.

Yoritomo (1147–1199), son of Minamoto Yoshitomo, became the first Shōgun and the founder of Japanese feudalism. When his father's force was finally overcome in 1159, the boy was captured and condemned to death. Kiyomori spared him at the intercession of his stepmother, and Yoritomo was placed in the care of two officers who were responsible for him. He grew up shrewd, ambitious, and unscrupulous. In 1180 he rose against Kiyomori's tyranny, and with the help of his half-brother Yoshitsune and his cousin Yoshinaka finally shattered the Taira power and exterminated the clan, root and branch. He made Kamakura his capital, and began the dual government that continued to exist until 1867. For this purpose he placed military men, his own relations, as civil governors over the provinces, and made them responsible to him, while he appointed military governors under like conditions. A permanent military force was to be maintained by each province. To these measures the Emperor consented, and in 1192 bestowed upon Yoritomo the title of Sei-i Tai Shōgun or Barbarian-subduing Generalissimo. He was one of the ablest rulers of Japan, but a heartless tyrant. He looked with disfavour upon all other persons of ability or ambition, and killed off all possible rivals, including his brother Yoshitsune. He left no successor; his own children were

weaklings from whom the power soon passed to the family of Yoritomo's wife, the Hōjō family. (See the Index.)

Yoshiiye, called Hachiman Taro, or first-born of the God of War Hachiman, was a member of the Minamoto clan in the eleventh century. He gave to his clan its first great prominence by conquering the northern portion of the main island. Yoritomo was his great-great-grandson.

Yoshinaka, called the Morning-sun Shōgun because of his brilliant and sudden rise to power, was a cousin of Yoritomo. Taking up arms against the Taira, he descended upon the capital, Kyōtō, and captured it. The Taira fled with the young Emperor Antoku (q. v.), and Yoshinaka proclaimed Gotoba Emperor. The victor acted in an arbitrary manner, incensed the cloistered ex-Emperor Goshirakawa, became jealous of his superior, Yoritomo, and finally forced from the Court the title of Shōgun. Yoritomo sent Yoshitsune against their cousin, and the young Shōgun's glory sank, as quickly as it had risen, in defeat and death. He was thirty-one years old.

Yoshitsune (born in 1159), called the Bayard of Japan, was a half-brother of Yoritomo, his mother being a concubine. She sacrificed herself to the demands of Kiyomori in order to save her son's life. The child was sent to a monastery to become a Buddhist monk, but he escaped and found shelter in the north. When Yoritomo rose against the Taira power, Yoshitsune joined him and became his greatest general. Yoshitsune's military ability and the admiration with which he was greeted, excited the jealousy of his unnatural brother, who determined to compass his death, but Yoshitsune again escaped to the friendly North. The touching letter that he wrote to his brother is still treasured in Japanese literature for its pathos and fraternal affection. He was finally put to death by his protector's son, who had been suborned by Yoritomo. He is one of the most popular heroes of Japanese history, and many traditions have gathered around his name. According to one of these, he was not killed, but escaped to Yezo, where he lived among the Ainos for many years; a statement that finds some support in the fact that his memory is greatly reverenced by the inhabitants of that island. Another tradition says that he escaped to the mainland and became the great Mongul Emperor, Jenghis Khan. (See the Index, and *Benkei*.)

Yamagata, Marquis (1838–), a member of the Chōshiu clan, took part in the Revolution of 1867, and became Under Secretary of War in 1868. He observed the Franco-Prussian war, and after having been assigned to command the army intended for the invasion of Korea in 1873, was appointed Secretary of War in 1876. He is

best known through his command of the Japanese army in Korea during the Chinese war of 1894, but he has held various posts in the ministry, including that of Premier. In Korea he displayed strategic ability of the first order, and received the marquisate as a recognition.

War Appendix

War Appendix

EXPLANATORY SPEECH OF THE MINISTER OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The following is an accurate translation of the speech delivered by Baron Komura in the House of Representatives on the 23rd instant: —

GENTLEMEN: — It is a great honour to me to make a brief statement before this House regarding the course of negotiations between Japan and Russia from the commencement to their termination. These negotiations lasted for more than half a year and are of a most complicated nature. Now I will try to briefly explain to you, gentlemen, the main points of these negotiations.

When, upon the sudden outbreak in North China of the Boxer troubles in 1900, the Powers sent forces to Chihli for the relief of their representatives and nationals, and were taking action in harmonious co-operation, Russia despatched a large army into Manchuria and finally took possession of the whole of that province. She repeatedly declared at the time that this despatch of troops was simply for suppressing the Chinese insurgents, and that she was determined to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of China in Manchuria, and that consequently her occupation of that province, which was the result of inevitable circumstances, was intended to be merely temporary. Nevertheless, on more than one occasion she tried to induce China to conclude a treaty of a nature tending to impair China's sovereignty and incompatible with the treaty rights of the powers. Accordingly, on each occasion the Imperial Government warned both Russia and China, and Russia finally concluded, in April, 1902, a convention providing for the restoration of Manchuria. In accordance with the stipulation of the convention, Russia commenced to prepare for the restoration, and, in fact, a partial evacuation had

already been effected, when in April last year there was a sudden change in her attitude, and not only were the withdrawal of her forces from Manchuria and the restitution of the administration to China suspended, but also various additional conditions were demanded from China. This action is believed to have been due to divided counsels in Russian Government circles regarding the solution of the Manchurian question, and to the subsequent ascendency of the party in favour of permanent occupation.

The development of affairs in Manchuria received the most careful attention at the hands of the Imperial Government. The maintenance of the independence and territorial integrity of Corea is of the utmost importance to the safety and repose of this Empire and is in fact our traditional policy; while in the event of the absorption of Manchuria by Russia, the separate existence of Corea would be constantly menaced and the firm establishment of peace in the Far East would become impossible. The Imperial Government, therefore, having regard to the future well-being of the Empire, deemed it necessary for consolidating the peace of the Extreme East and for securing the rights and interests of the Empire to open, as soon as possible, negotiations with Russia with a view to a friendly definition of the interests of the two countries in Manchuria and Corea where those interests meet, and thereby to remove every cause of future conflict between Japan and Russia. The Japanese Government, therefore, instructed their Representative at St. Petersburg on July 28th, 1903, to bring their wishes to the attention of the Russian Government and to request the latter's concurrence. The Russian Government willingly assented, and the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs announced that he had obtained Imperial authority to open negotiations on the subject. Accordingly, on the 12th August last, the Imperial Government presented to the Russian Government, through their Minister at St. Petersburg, as a basis of negotiations, proposals substantially as follows:

1. Mutual engagement to respect the independence and territorial integrity of China and Corea.

2. Mutual engagement to maintain the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations in China and Corea.

3. Reciprocal recognition of Japan's preponderating interests in Corea and Russia's special interests in railway enterprises in Manchuria, and mutual recognition of the respective rights of Japan and Russia to take measures necessary for the protection of the above-mentioned interests so far as they do not conflict with the principle of Article I and Article II.

4. Recognition by Russia of the exclusive right of Japan to give advice and assistance to Corea in the interests of reform and good government.

5. Engagement on the part of Russia not to impede the eventual extension of the Corean railway into southern Manchuria so as to connect with the East China and the Shanhaikwan-Newchwang lines.

About ten days after the presentation of the proposals of which the above are essential points, the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs suddenly suggested the transfer of the seat of negotiations to Tokio. The Imperial Government, however, not only from the consideration that the progress of the negotiations would be facilitated by conducting them at the Russian capital, but also in view of the changes effected in the Russian administrative organization in Manchuria and the erection of a viceroyalty of the Far East, apprehended that the transfer of the seat of negotiations to Tokio would not conduce to a satisfactory understanding. They accordingly repeatedly objected to the proposed transfer, but the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs was insistent, assigning as the reason for his attitude the Czar's contemplated trip abroad, etc. Again, when the Imperial Government requested the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs to accept in principle our proposals as a basis of negotiation, he only agreed to take them in conjunction with the Russian counter-proposals as such bases. The Imperial Government, deeming it disadvantageous to delay any longer the opening of discussions, agreed at length to transfer the seat of negotiations, and requested the Russian Government to present as soon as possible their counter-proposals. It was not until nearly a month later, the 3rd October, that the said counter-proposals were presented.

In those counter-proposals Russia, while having no objection to engage to respect the independence and territorial integrity of Corea, declined to extend the same engagement

the 13th January last reconsideration by the Russian Government. They subsequently repeatedly instructed the Japanese Minister at St. Petersburg to ask for a reply. The Russian Government, however, did not give any answer, neither did the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs, in his interview with Mr. Kurino held so late as the 31st January, afford even an indication as to the date whereon the reply would be presented.

Upon the whole, while the Imperial Government invariably met Russia in a conciliatory and frank spirit, in the hope of arriving at a speedy solution of the situation by yielding to Russia's wishes so far as they could do so without impairing the vital interests of Japan, Russia always unduly delayed her replies, or proposed such amendments as were altogether inconsistent with the idea of an amicable settlement, thus making the situation more and more complicated. Besides, Russia, while professing peaceful intentions on the one hand, made on the other great naval and military preparations, despatching all her most powerful war vessels to the extreme Orient, and sending military reinforcements, tens of thousands strong, to Manchuria and the neighboring regions. Unusually great activity was shown by her in purchasing and transporting arms, ammunition, stores, and coal to the same region, so that it was placed beyond the range of doubt that Russia had no sincere desire for conciliation, and only aimed at compelling us to yield to her designs by force of arms. Especially towards the end of January the warlike activities of Russia were so far accelerated that, had Japan permitted any further procrastination, the Empire would certainly have been placed in serious danger. Although the Imperial Government entertained a most sincere desire for peace, yet in the face of such circumstances they could not avoid deciding, after a full and careful survey of the situation, to break off the negotiations with Russia and to take all necessary measures for self-defence. Accordingly, on the 5th of February, they issued telegraphic instructions to the Japanese Minister at St. Petersburg to announce to the Russian Government that the Imperial Government had terminated negotiations relative to the proposed Russo-Japanese convention; that they would take such independent action as they might deem best to defend and consolidate their menaced position and

to protect their established rights and legitimate interests, and that they would sever diplomatic relations with Russia and withdraw their Legation. In accordance with those instructions our Minister at St. Petersburg made the communication on the 6th February last.

Such is, gentlemen, a brief account of the negotiations with Russia. As for the details, the document just presented to the Diet will afford you full information.

CORRESPONDENCE REGARDING THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN JAPAN AND RUSSIA

No. 1. *Baron Komura to Mr. Kurino*

(*Telegram.*) Tokio, July 28th, 1903.

THE Japanese Government have observed with close attention the development of affairs in Manchuria, and they view with grave concern the present situation there. So long as there were grounds for hope that Russia would carry out her engagement to China and her assurances to other Powers on the subject of the evacuation of Manchuria, the Japanese Government maintained an attitude of watchful reserve. But the recent action of Russia in formulating new demands in Peking and in consolidating rather than relaxing her hold on Manchuria compels belief that she has abandoned the intention of retiring from Manchuria, while her increased activity along the Corean frontier is such as to raise doubts regarding the limits of her ambition. The unrestrained permanent occupation of Manchuria by Russia would create a condition of things prejudicial to the security and interest of Japan. Such occupation would be destructive of the principle of equal opportunity and in impairment of the territorial integrity of China. But, what is of still more serious moment to the Japanese Government, Russia stationed on the flank of Corea would be a constant menace to the separate existence of that Empire, and in any event it would make Russia the dominant power in Corea. Corea is an important outpost in Japan's line of defence, and Japan consequently considers the independence of Corea

absolutely essential to her own repose and safety. Japan possesses paramount political as well as commercial and industrial interests and influence in Corea, which, having regard to her own security, she cannot consent to surrender to, or share with, any other Power. The Japanese Government have given the matter their most serious consideration and have resolved to approach the Russian Government in a spirit of conciliation and frankness with a view to the conclusion of an understanding designed to compose questions which are at this time the cause of just and natural anxiety; and, in the estimation of the Japanese Government, the moment is opportune for making the attempt to bring about the desired adjustment.

The Japanese Government, reposing confidence in your judgment and discretion, have decided to place these delicate negotiations in your hands. It is the wish of the Japanese Government to place their present invitation to the Russian Government entirely on an official footing, and you are accordingly instructed to open the question by presenting to Count Lamsdorff a Note Verbale to the following effect:

"The Imperial Japanese Government, believing that the Imperial Russian Government share with them the desire to remove from the relations of the two Empires every cause of future misunderstanding, would be glad to enter with the Imperial Russian Government upon examination of the condition of affairs in the Extreme East where their interests meet, with a view to a definition of their respective special interests in those regions. If, as is confidently hoped, this suggestion meets approval in principle, the Imperial Japanese Government will be prepared to present to the Imperial Russian Government their views as to the nature and scope of the proposed understanding."

In presenting the foregoing note to Count Lamsdorff, you will be careful to make him understand that our purposes are entirely friendly, but that we attach great importance to the subject. You will present the note to Count Lamsdorff as soon as possible, and keep me fully informed regarding the steps taken by you under this instruction; and immediately upon the receipt of an affirmative reply from the Russian Government, the substance of our proposals will be telegraphed to you.

No. 2. *Mr. Kurino to Baron Komura*

Petersburg, July 31st, 1903.
(*Telegram.*) Received, August 2nd, 1903.

YOUR Excellency's telegram of the 28th instant was duly received. In accordance with the instructions contained therein, I saw Count Lamsdorff to-day and, before handing to His Excellency the Note Verbale, I stated substantially as follows:

The condition of affairs in the Far East is becoming more and more complicated, and unless something be done at present with the view of removing all causes of misunderstanding between Japan and Russia, the relations of the two countries will increase in difficulty, entailing nothing but disadvantages to both countries. Under the circumstances, the Imperial Government, fully animated by a spirit of frankness and conciliation, have decided to approach the Imperial Russian Government with a view to arrive at an understanding.

I then handed to him the Note Verbale, saying that I was so instructed. After he had seen it, I expressed my ardent hope that the Russian Government would share the above view in the same spirit. Count Lamsdorff said that he was perfectly satisfied with the decision of the Japanese Government, for, as he had said to me very often, an understanding between the two countries is not only desirable, but is the best policy; should Russia and Japan enter into full understanding, no one would in future attempt to sow the seeds of discord between the two countries. So far as he was concerned, he was, he said, in perfect accord with the view of the Japanese Government; but he wished to see the Emperor on the subject before a definite answer was given. He expects to see the Emperor next Tuesday, and he promised to give me an answer on the following day. He added that the Emperor would surely approve the matter.

No. 3. *Baron Komura to Mr. Kurino*

(*Telegram.*) Tokio, August 3rd, 1903.

IN reference to my telegram of the 28th July, the Japanese Government, after giving most serious consideration to the condition of affairs in those centres where the interests of

the two Powers meet, have decided to propose the following as the basis of an understanding between Japan and Russia.

"1. Mutual engagement to respect the independence and territorial integrity of the Chinese and Corean Empires and to maintain the principles of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations in those countries.

"2. Reciprocal recognition of Japan's preponderating interests in Corea and Russia's special interests in railway enterprises in Manchuria, and of the right of Japan to take in Corea and of Russia to take in Manchuria such measures as may be necessary for the protection of their respective interests as above defined, subject, however, to the provisions of Article I of this Agreement.

"3. Reciprocal undertaking on the part of Russia and Japan not to impede development of those industrial and commercial activities respectively of Japan in Corea and of Russia in Manchuria, which are not inconsistent with the stipulations of Article I of this Agreement.

"Additional engagement on the part of Russia not to impede the eventual extension of the Corean railway into southern Manchuria so as to connect with the East China and Shan-hai-kwan-Newchwang lines.

"4. Reciprocal engagement that in case it is found necessary to send troops by Japan to Corea, or by Russia to Manchuria, for the purpose either of protecting the interests mentioned in Article II of this Agreement, or of suppressing insurrection or disorder calculated to create international complications, the troops so sent are in no case to exceed the actual number required and are to be forthwith recalled as soon as their missions are accomplished.

"5. Recognition on the part of Russia of the exclusive right of Japan to give advice and assistance in the interest of reform and good government in Corea, including necessary military assistance.

"6. This Agreement to supplant all previous arrangements between Japan and Russia respecting Corea."

In handing the foregoing project to Count Lamsdorff, you will say that it is presented for the consideration of the Russian Government in the firm belief that it may be found to serve as a basis upon which to construct satisfactory arrangement between the two Governments, and you will assure Count Lamsdorff that any amendment or suggestion

he may find it necessary to offer will receive the immediate and friendly consideration of the Japanese Government. It will not be necessary for you to say much in elucidation of the separate items of the project as they are very largely self-explanatory; but you might point out that the project taken as a whole will be found to be but little more than the logical and essential development and extension of the principles already recognized by the two Governments, or of conditions embodied in the engagements which the project is designed to supplant.

The foregoing instruction is sent to you in anticipation that the answer to the Note Verbale presented by you will be favourable; but you will not act on that instruction until you receive further instructions, which will be given after you have communicated to me the answer to the Note Verbale.

No. 4. *Mr. Kurino to Baron Komura*

Petersburg, August 5th, 1903.
(*Telegram.*) Received, August 6th, 1903.

COUNT LAMSDORFF says he is authorized by the Emperor to open negotiations with me on the subject of the Note Verbale.

No. 5. *Baron Komura to Mr. Kurino*

(*Telegram.*) Tokio, August 6th, 1903.

IN reference to your telegrams dated the 31st ultimo and 5th instant, you will state to Count Lamsdorff that the Imperial Government fully appreciate the friendly spirit with which the Russian Government received the proposal of the Japanese Government to enter upon negotiations with regard to an understanding between the two countries, and then present at once the project to the Russian Government in accordance with instructions contained in my telegram of the 3rd instant.

No. 6. *Mr. Kurino to Baron Komura*

Petersburg, August 12th, 1903.
(*Telegram.*) Received, August 14th, 1903.

COUNT LAMSDORFF, being now very much occupied, could not receive me until to-day, when I handed to His Excel-

lency the proposed project in English in accordance with your instructions. I added that the longer the conclusion of an accord is postponed the more difficult will it become, as the condition of affairs in the Far East is now getting more and more complicated. I asked him to hasten the matter as much as possible. He said he would examine the project with care.

No. 7. *Mr. Kurino to Baron Komura*

Petersburg, August 24th, 1903.
(*Telegram.*) Received, August 25th, 1903.

COUNT LAMSDORFF received me yesterday by special arrangement, and I asked his views, as well as the attitude of the Russian Government regarding our proposals, adding that the Japanese Government are now impatiently waiting for a reply. He said that he had studied the project seriously, but that the Emperor having been absent over a week on account of the manœuvres, he had been unable to take any steps in the matter; but he asked my opinion about transferring the negotiations to Tokio, as there were many details which would have to be referred to Admiral Alexieff. I said to him that the Japanese Government having confided the matter to me, I should prefer to proceed with it, but that I was willing to communicate his opinion to you.

He stated that he has already sent copy of our project to Port Arthur with the view of obtaining the opinion of Admiral Alexieff. After such conversation, he said the question of Japanese railway enterprise in Manchuria would be difficult, but upon all other points perhaps the Russian Government would be able to come to an understanding. I said that in order to arrive at a satisfactory understanding, mutual concessions as well as a spirit of conciliation are necessary and that the Japanese Government would be prepared to give favourable consideration if any suggestions should be made by Count Lamsdorff.

No. 8. *Baron Komura to Mr. Kurino*

(*Telegram.*) Tokio, August 26th, 1903.

IN reference to your telegram of the 24th instant, you will say to Count Lamsdorff that the Japanese Government

would prefer to continue negotiations in St. Petersburg, believing that by so doing, the work will be greatly facilitated. You can add that there are no details to be considered in connection with pending negotiations which require local knowledge, and that the Japanese Government, having placed the negotiation in your hand, would dislike to make any change. You will say to Count Lamsdorff that the Japanese Government are anxiously awaiting a definite reply from his Government to their proposals, and you will continue to use every endeavour to obtain from him such a reply as soon as possible.

No. 9. *Mr. Kurino to Baron Komura*

Petersburg, August 27th, 1903.
(*Telegram.*) Received, August 28th, 1903.

I SAW Count Lamsdorff to-day on the subject of your telegram dated the 26th instant. He said he had audience of the Emperor last Tuesday, and was told that His Majesty desires very much the early conclusion of an *entente* satisfactory for both countries, and expressed his wish to conduct the negotiations at Tokio so as to expedite the matter. Then Count Lamsdorff added that the Emperor is to leave here for the country next Monday, and then for foreign countries for some time, and at the same time the Ministers concerned would be absent from St. Petersburg. Consequently, negotiations in Tokio would be much the easier and quicker way of concluding the matter. I said, referring to my conversation with Count Lamsdorff of the 23rd instant, that the proposed understanding involved mostly questions of principles and politics rather than details, and consequently that the continuation of negotiations at St. Petersburg would be proper and at the same time the quickest way to arrive at a satisfactory understanding. He repeated what he had just said and insisted upon his proposition.

Under the circumstances, I think it hardly possible to change the course now proposed by Count Lamsdorff under authority of the Emperor. I also think that negotiations at Tokio would entail many disadvantageous consequences; and definite instruction for the further course is awaited.

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No. 10. *Baron Komura to Mr. Kurino*

(*Telegram.*) Tokio, August 29th, 1903.

In reference to your telegram of the 27th instant, you will say to Count Lamsdorff that the Japanese Government still think that negotiation will be facilitated if continued in St. Petersburg since the negotiations relate to principles and not details; and you will add that he and you having been duly authorized in the matter and the proposals of Japan having been presented to him, the Japanese Government had supposed that the seat of negotiation had been agreed to. You will accordingly urge upon Count Lamsdorff the desire of Japanese Government to continue the negotiations in St. Petersburg, and express a hope that his Government will reconsider the question. You will also say that the Japanese Government presume they are justified in assuming from the proposal to transfer negotiations to Tokio, that our proposals are in principle acceptable to the Russian Government as the basis of negotiations.

No. 11. *Mr. Kurino to Baron Komura*

Petersburg, August 31st, 1903.
(*Telegram.*) Received, September 2nd, 1903.

I saw Count Lamsdorff to-day and explained fully the purport of your telegram of the 29th instant. The substance of his reply is as follows:

He said that the negotiations relate to principles, but principles must be decided upon examination of local and practical questions. Accordingly the Russian Government desired to transfer the discussions to Tokio on account of the necessity of consultation with Admiral Alexieff, and also to manifest a sense of deference to Japan as the proposal had been made by her, and that the acceptance of the proposal at St. Petersburg does not signify that the seat of negotiations should be at the same place. He added that the proposal to transfer the negotiations to Tokio does not necessarily mean that our proposals are acceptable to the Russian Government, as bases for negotiations could not be determined without reference to practical questions, concerning which Baron Rosen and Admiral Alexieff have much better knowledge than he himself.

I urged as my opinion that this being the most important question of high politics between our two countries, perhaps the Emperor had much to decide, and consequently it would be very convenient if the negotiations were conducted at St. Petersburg, and wished his serious reconsideration of the question of transfer as such reconsideration is much desired by the Japanese Government. I objected also to the suggestion of transfer on the ground that the question relates to principles as well as to the direction of international political concerns which may not be within the powers conferred upon Admiral Alexieff. If I remember rightly, I said, I understand that his authority is limited to mere questions of local administration. He said that on this question Admiral Alexieff would only be consulted and decide nothing, and added that he, Count Lamsdorff, is also desirous to settle the question as quickly as possible, and that is the reason why he suggested the transfer. The Russian Counter-Proposals are being prepared by persons having local knowledge, consequently the transfer of negotiations to Tokio would expedite the matter. Should the negotiations be conducted at St. Petersburg, he would be obliged to attend to the matter personally with me; but this autumn he has to be long absent from the city on account of his attendance upon the Emperor. In case of his journey to Vienna and Rome, he may also visit a certain foreign country and would be liable to be frequently interrupted in the negotiations. But in case of negotiations at Tokio, he could direct them by telegraph and telegrams from Tokio could always follow him wherever he might happen to be; besides, he said, as we know very well, the Russian way of conducting business here is not very expeditious. At the conclusion, he said he is to have audience of the Emperor to-day, and will explain to him the reasons why an early understanding between the two countries is desirable as mentioned by me; and he promised to repeat to His Majesty the special desire of the Japanese Government to conduct the negotiations at St. Petersburg; but he added that no change of view on the subject could be expected.

No. 12. *Baron Komura to Mr. Kurino*

(*Telegram.*) Tokio, September 2nd, 1903.

In reference to your telegram of the 31st ultimo, you will say to Count Lamsdorff that it being the acknowledged desire of both Powers to arrive at an understanding as soon as possible, the Japanese Government fear that discussions would be greatly protracted if the negotiations were now to be transferred to Tokio without some accepted basis for negotiations; and you will add that the Japanese Government, having presented their proposals in concrete form to the Russian Government, believe that negotiations, wherever conducted, would be greatly facilitated if the Russian Government were primarily to announce whether such proposals can in principle be accepted as the basis for negotiations. The Japanese Government do not understand that the acceptance of those proposals as such basis would exclude amendments that might be regarded as necessary. On the contrary, such acceptance would merely fix a definite point of departure, which is desirable in all negotiations and very important in the present case. You will use every endeavour to secure the desired announcement from the Russian Government.

No. 13 *Mr. Kurino to Baron Komura*

St. Petersburg, September 5th, 1903.
(*Telegram.*) Received, September 5th, 1903.

I saw Count Lamsdorff yesterday. With the view of preventing any misunderstanding about the sense of the instruction contained in your telegram of the 2nd instant, and also with the view of impressing upon the Russian Government the feeling of importance placed by the Japanese Government on the matter, I prepared a Note Verbale which I handed to him. We then had a rather prolonged discussion on the question. The substance of his remarks is as follows:

According to his experience of 40 years in the Foreign Office, negotiations of an international character had always been conducted on the proposals of one Power together with the reply of the other, and it was not usual to accept the proposition of one Power as the sole basis of negotiations.

Baron Rosen had already been commanded by the Emperor to study seriously the proposition of the Japanese Government, and at the same time to prepare and elaborate Counter-Proposals in consultation with Admiral Alexieff, and, if the Japanese Government were willing to enter into negotiation, to commence immediately the *pour-parlers* adopting the propositions of the Japanese Government and the Russian Counter-Proposals as the basis of negotiations. I said during the discussion that if the Russian Government were really animated by a desire to enter into a satisfactory arrangement with Japan, I should deem it highly necessary that the Russian Government should instruct their negotiators to adopt as the basis the Japanese proposals, or at least the essential principles thereof, so as to facilitate the attainment of the object of the negotiation, for I am inclined to doubt if Admiral Alexieff is disposed to enter into negotiations with Japan in a spirit of conciliation, which is of prime necessity in order to arrive at a satisfactory understanding. He said that when he received our project there were only two courses open for Russia to take, either to reject our proposals or to enter into negotiations on them. The Russian Government have adopted the latter course; this does not, however, signify acceptance of our project in its entirety or in principle; but having agreed to the proposition to enter into an *entente*, they have decided to examine the propositions and to prepare Counter-Proposals so that the two might be used as the basis of negotiations. Besides he said that in our project there are certain clauses which could not be reconciled with Russian interests, and others which require modifications; and he could not say that the Russian Government accepted our proposals even in principle as basis, but only in conjunction with their Counter-Proposals.

Having exhausted every effort for the attainment of the desire of the Japanese Government, I am now fully convinced that it will not be possible to change the course proposed by Count Lamsdorff; and I think that there is no other way for Japan but to agree to his suggestion. Count Lamsdorff is to leave here on the 10th instant for Darmstadt to attend the Emperor of Russia.

No. 14 *Baron Komura to Mr. Kurino*

(*Telegram.*) Tokio, September 9th, 1903.

IN reference to your telegram of the 5th instant, you are hereby instructed to inform Count Lamsdorff that the Japanese Government consent to transfer negotiations to Tokio, and you will add that the Japanese Government trust that instructions to the Russian Minister at Tokio are of such a character as to enable him to present the Russian Counter-Proposals without delay and to proceed immediately with the negotiations.

No. 15. *Mr. Kurino to Baron Komura*

Petersburg, September 9th, 1903.
(*Telegram.*) Received, September 10th, 1903.

I SAW Count Lamsdorff to-day. He said Baron Rosen and Admiral Alexieff have already been instructed by telegraph, by order of the Emperor, to prepare the Counter-Proposals as quickly as possible, and to commence negotiations at the earliest date, and he does not think it necessary to repeat the same instructions.

No. 16. *Baron Komura to Mr. Kurino*

(*Telegram.*) Tokio, September 24th, 1903.

BARON ROSEN left Tokio on the 22nd instant for Port Arthur. Previously to his departure, he called on me and told me that he had been instructed under Imperial order some time ago to hold himself ready to start at once for Port Arthur, whenever necessity might arise to do so, in order to expedite the preparation of the Russian Counter-Proposals between Admiral Alexieff and himself, and that he had just received from the Admiral a request to repair to Port Arthur for personal consultation on the subject. He added that he expected to come back within about eleven days.

No. 17. *Baron Komura to Mr. Kurino*

(*Telegram.*) Tokio, October 5th, 1903.

BARON ROSEN came back to Tokio on the 3rd instant. He called on me on the same day and handed to me the

following as the Russian Counter-Proposals, which, he said was sanctioned by the Emperor of Russia, upon joint presentation by Admiral Alexieff and himself: —

1. Mutual engagement to respect the independence and territorial integrity of the Corean Empire.

2. Recognition by Russia of Japan's preponderating interests in Corea and of the right of Japan to give advice and assistance to Corea tending to improve the civil administration of the Empire without infringing the stipulations of Article I.

3. Engagement on the part of Russia not to impede the commercial and industrial undertakings of Japan in Corea, nor to oppose any measures taken for the purpose of protecting them so long as such measures do not infringe the stipulations of Article I.

4. Recognition of the right of Japan to send for the same purpose troops to Corea, with the knowledge of Russia, but their number not to exceed that actually required, and with the engagement on the part of Japan to recall such troops as soon as their mission is accomplished.

5. Mutual engagement not to use any part of the territory of Corea for strategical purposes nor to undertake on the coasts of Corea any military works capable of menacing the freedom of navigation in the Straits of Corea.

6. Mutual engagement to consider that part of the territory of Corea lying to the north of the 39th parallel as a neutral zone into which neither of the Contracting Parties shall introduce troops.

7. Recognition by Japan of Manchuria and its littoral as in all respects outside her sphere of interest.

8. This agreement to supplant all previous Agreements between Russia and Japan respecting Corea.

No. 18. *Baron Komura to Mr. Kurino*

(*Telegram.*) Tokio, October 8th, 1903.

In reference to my telegram of the 5th instant, I have begun discussion with the Russian Minister to Japan taking our proposals and the Russian Counter-Proposals as the basis and with a view to secure, if possible, the recognition by Russia of the fundamental principles laid down in our proposals.

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No. 19. *Baron Komura to Mr. Kurino*

(*Telegram.*) Tokio, October 16th, 1903.

In reference to my telegram of the 8th instant, negotiations are now going on between Baron Rosen and myself regarding the following proposals, which I had presented as amendment to the Russian Counter-Proposals: —

Article II. Insert the phrase "including military assistance" between "assistance" and "to Corea." Change the word "civil" into "internal."

Article III. Insert the phrase "the development of" between "impede" and "the commercial." "Undertakings" to be changed into "activities," and "taken" into "to be taken" and "them" into "those interests."

Article IV. Recognition of the right of Japan to send troops to Corea for the purpose mentioned in the preceding Article or for the purpose of suppressing insurrection or disorder calculated to create international complications.

Article VI. Mutual engagement to establish a neutral zone on the Corea-Manchuria frontier extending ..... kilometres on each side, into which neutral zone neither of the Contracting Parties shall introduce troops without the consent of the other.

Article VII. To be struck out and replaced by the following three Articles: —

VII. Engagement on the part of Russia to respect China's sovereignty and territorial integrity in Manchuria, and not to interfere with Japan's commercial freedom in Manchuria.

VIII. Recognition by Japan of Russia's special interests in Manchuria and of the right of Russia to take such measures as may be necessary for the protection of those interests so long as such measures do not infringe the stipulations of the preceding Article.

IX. Mutual Engagement not to impede the connection of the Corean railway and the East China railway when those railways shall have been eventually extended to the Yalu.

Article VIII of the Russian Counter-Proposals to be numbered Article X.

No. 20. *Baron Komura to Mr. Kurino*

(*Telegram.*) Tokio, October 22nd, 1903.

THE result of discussions between Baron Rosen and myself on our amendments to the Russian Counter-Proposals is as follows: —

Amendments to Articles II and VI accepted *ad referendum*, Article III accepted, and Article IV reserved for further discussion. It is in Article VII of our amendment to Article VII of the Russian Counter-Proposals that no agreement could be reached, each insisting on the impossibility of accepting the other's proposition. The contention of the Russian Minister is: — 1st, that the Russian Article VII is the only compensation to Russia for the concessions to be made by her in respect of Corea; and 2nd, that admission of the Japanese amendments on this point would be contrary to the principle always insisted on by Russia that the question concerning Manchuria is one exclusively for Russia and China, admitting of no interference on the part of any third power.

Our contention is: — 1st, that Japan does not ask for any concession from Russia with respect to Manchuria, her proposal being simply to have confirmed in the Agreement the principle which has been voluntarily and repeatedly declared by Russia; and 2nd, that Japan possesses in Manchuria her treaty rights and commercial interests, and she must obtain from Russia a guarantee for the security of those rights and interests as well as of the independence of Corea which would be constantly menaced by Russia's definitive occupation of Manchuria.

No. 21. *Baron Komura to Mr. Kurino*

(*Telegram.*) Tokio, October 29th, 1903.

IN reference to my telegram of the 22nd instant, as the result of further discussions, the amendment on Article IV was finally accepted *ad referendum*. Regarding Article VI, my proposal of fixing the extent of the neutral zone at 50 kilometres on each side of the frontier was accepted *ad referendum*. As to Article VII, no agreement could yet be reached.

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No. 22. *Baron Komura to Mr. Kurino*

(*Telegram.*) Tokio, October 30th, 1903.

I PRESENTED to Baron Rosen on the 30th instant the following as definite amendments of the Imperial Government to the Russian Counter-Proposals: —

1. Mutual engagement to respect the independence and territorial integrity of the Chinese and Corean Empires.

2. Recognition by Russia of Japan's preponderating interests in Corea and of the right of Japan to give to Corea advice and assistance, including military assistance, tending to improve the administration of the Corean Empire.

3. Engagement on the part of Russia not to impede the development of the commercial and industrial activities of Japan in Corea, nor to oppose any measures taken for the purpose of protecting those interests.

4. Recognition by Russia of the right of Japan to send troops to Corea for the purpose mentioned in the preceding Article or for the purpose of suppressing insurrection or disorder calculated to create international complications.

5. Engagement on the part of Japan not to undertake on the coasts of Corea any military works capable of menacing the freedom of navigation in the Straits of Corea.

6. Mutual engagement to establish a neutral zone on the Corea-Manchurian frontier extending 50 kilometres on each side, into which neutral zone neither of the Contracting Parties shall introduce troops without the consent of the other.

7. Recognition by Japan that Manchuria is outside her sphere of special interest, and recognition by Russia that Corea is outside her sphere of special interest.

8. Recognition by Japan of Russia's special interests in Manchuria and of the right of Russia to take such measures as may be necessary for the protection of those interests.

9. Engagement on the part of Japan not to interfere with the commercial and residential rights and immunities belonging to Russia in virtue of her treaty engagements with Corea, and engagement on the part of Russia not to interfere with the commercial and residential rights and immunities belonging to Japan in virtue of her treaty engagements with China.

10. Mutual engagement not to impede the connection of the Corean railway and the East-China railway when those railways shall have been eventually extended to the Yalu.

11. This Agreement to supplant all previous Agreements between Japan and Russia respecting Corea.

No. 23. *Baron Komura to Mr. Kurino*

(*Telegram.*) Tokio, November 1st, 1903.

BARON ROSEN called on me October 31st and stated that the definite proposals which I presented to him as amendments to the Russian proposals as reported in my telegram of the 30th October were beyond his instructions, and that he would, November 1st, telegraph the full text of the said proposals to his Government and ask for further instructions. Accordingly you are instructed to see as soon as possible the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs in the absence of Count Lamsdorff, and say to him that in preparing the proposals in question, the Japanese Government did not fail to take into full consideration the wishes of the Russian Government. You will inform him that in proposing a joint engagement to respect the independence and territorial integrity of China equally with Corea, the Japanese Government were merely asking a reaffirmation of declarations already spontaneously made by Russia, and when it is considered that Russia is prepared to make such an engagement respecting Corea, the reason for excluding China is not understood. The Japanese Government are prepared to admit that the Manchurian question, so far as it does not affect their rights and interests, is purely a Russo-Chinese question; but Japan has extensive and important rights and interests in that region, and the Japanese Government think that in declaring that Manchuria is outside their sphere of special interest, they are at least entitled to ask for a correlative engagement on the part of Russia not to interfere with the commercial and residential rights and immunities belonging to Japan in virtue of her treaty engagements with China. You will in addition point out that the invitation of the Japanese Government, which originated the present negotiations, had in view a definition of the special interest of Japan and Russia in those regions of the Far East where

the interests of the two Powers meet. The Japanese Government could not have anticipated that the Russian Government, in accepting that invitation, would wish — as might be inferred from Article VII of their Counter-Proposals — to restrict the proposed definition exclusively to the region in which Japan possesses special interests.

No. 24. *Mr. Kurino to Baron Komura*

Petersburg, November 3rd, 1903.
(*Telegram.*) Received, November 3rd, 1903.

I SAW the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs on the 2nd November. He said, as his personal opinion, that Japan is making the same demands only in different form, and that those demands are too great. I asked in what respects the Japanese Government are considered to be demanding too much, and I added that we do not ask anything more than the recognition of existing treaty rights and immunities of Japan in Manchuria. He then stated that Baron Rosen had said nothing on the subject. The only difficulty, he said, is the connection of the Corean and Manchurian railways. To my question whether there are no other difficulties, he answered that the railway question is the only difficulty, although it had been accepted *ad referendum;* and in conclusion I asked him to use his best influence for the satisfactory solution of the question, as the Japanese Government are fully animated by the spirit of conciliation, and I urged him to advise Count Lamsdorff in the same sense, and if possible to approach the Emperor of Russia on the question. He said that he is willing to do so, and added that Count Lamsdorff will return at the end of this week.

No. 25. *Mr. Kurino to Baron Komura*

Petersburg, November 13th, 1903.
(*Telegram.*) Received, November 13th, 1903.

I SAW Count Lamsdorff November 12th, and asked whether he had received a copy of the telegram which I had handed to Prince Obolensky and whether any action had been taken in the matter. He answered that he had submitted the telegram to the Emperor, and that before his departure from Darmstadt, he sent under an Imperial order

instructions to Baron Rosen to continue negotiations with the Japanese Government. I asked him whether it is on the basis of our last proposal that Baron Rosen was instructed to go on negotiating. Count Lamsdorff said that Baron Rosen had been ordered by the Emperor to examine our last proposal with Admiral Alexieff and to make modification if necessary, and added that at this moment Baron Rosen and Admiral Alexieff must be engaged in the preparation of Counter-Proposals. I remarked to Count Lamsdorff that according to the view of Prince Obolensky, the connection of Corean and Manchurian railways is the question that divides the two Governments; but the Japanese Government having subsequently modified the article relating to the question, I cannot believe that it is the principal point on which an agreement cannot be established. Count Lamsdorff replied that he thinks for his part that it is the Manchurian question which divides the two parties, as he had said from the very beginning the Russian Government consider always that this question is a question exclusively between Russia and China, and it must be reserved to his Government to take all proper measures to safeguard their very considerable interests in Manchuria by means of an arrangement with China. I explained to him that Japan is ever ready to recognize the special and considerable interests which Russia has in Manchuria, and that she has no intention whatever of trespassing upon them, but that Japan has a perfect right to demand that the independence and territorial integrity of China shall be respected and the rights and the interests of Japan in that region shall be formally guaranteed. Count Lamsdorff answered that the objection relates to the form rather than the substance of the proposal. In Manchuria other Powers also have rights and interests, and Russia cannot enter into special arrangement with each of those Powers regarding Manchuria. I observed that should the Russian Government be in accord with Japan in principle, it is deeply to be regretted that an understanding cannot be reached, merely because of failure to find a suitable formula by which to bring the two Governments to an arrangement, and that I could not but ardently ask him to use his influence to bring about a satisfactory solution according to the principles already admitted by Russia.

No. 26. *Baron Komura to Mr. Kurino*

(*Telegram.*) Tokio, November 21st, 1903.

BARON ROSEN informed me November 20th, that he received a telegram November 14th from Admiral Alexieff to the effect that Admiral Alexieff had already forwarded the Counter-Proposals to St. Petersburg. Baron Rosen added that he had not yet received any instructions on the subject of the Counter-Proposals. Consequently you are instructed to see Count Lamsdorff as soon as possible, and after explaining to him Baron Rosen's statements as above, you will say that the Japanese Government are anxious to proceed with the negotiations with all possible expedition; and you will urge him to exert his influence to secure the early dispatch of instructions to Baron Rosen in order that the negotiations may be resumed and concluded without delay.

No. 27. *Mr. Kurino to Baron Komura*

Petersburg, November 22nd, 1903.
(*Telegram.*) Received, November 23rd, 1903.

I SAW Count Lamsdorff on the 22nd November. He said that the modifications are already in the hands of the Emperor; but on account of the illness of the Empress, the former does not attend to any business affairs; hence the delay. I asked him to use his best endeavours to obtain the earliest possible Imperial order on the question. He said in reply that it will be better for me to write him a note giving the purport of instructions I have received from you; then he will immediately send it to the Emperor. At the end of the conversation I asked whether it is not possible for me to get some information about the modifications proposed by Admiral Alexieff. He seemed rather puzzled to give a direct answer; but he said that the Russian Government are ready to enter into immediate agreement with Japan regarding Corea, even making large concessions, but as to Manchuria, Russia once took possession of the country by right of conquest; nevertheless, she is willing to restore it to China, but with certain guarantees assuring security to the enormous interests which Russia has in Manchuria. While China is still insisting upon her refusal to give such guarantees, it is not possible for Russia to come to any

arrangement with a third Power respecting Manchuria, as the question is exclusively between the two countries concerned. Then I said that if I accurately judge the nature of our proposition, it is not the intention of the Japanese Government to interfere with direct negotiations between the two Governments concerned, as may be seen from the first part of Article VII of our last proposition; but we only wish the independence and integrity of China, as repeatedly declared on the part of Russia, and security for our important interests in that province. This is not for the purpose of interfering with the affairs of the two Powers concerned, but only to prevent misunderstanding between Russia and Japan regarding the province where both powers have some interest; and I added that if in principle such an *entente* could in some form or other be arrived at perhaps even negotiations between Russia and China might be more easily carried out. He thereupon repeated his request for me to write him a note as above mentioned, and that I should add my own opinion in it, and that he would immediately send it to the Emperor. He told me that he expects to have audience on the 25th November at Skernevice and that the note could be sent to him towards this evening. I judge from the tone of Count Lamsdorff's conversation that the modifications proposed by Admiral Alexieff will not be favourable to our proposition regarding China and Manchuria.

No. 28. *Baron Komura to Mr. Kurino*

(*Telegram.*) Tokio, November 28th, 1903.

You report in your telegram of November 22nd that Count Lamsdorff expected to have audience of the Emperor on the 25th instant. Accordingly you are instructed to see Count Lamsdorff as soon as possible and ask him what action has been taken regarding further instructions to Baron Rosen.

No. 29. *Mr. Kurino to Baron Komura*

Petersburg, November 27th, 1903.
(*Telegram.*) Received, November 28th, 1903.

Count Lamsdorff told me he did not see the Emperor November 25th, on account of the sickness of the Empress.

Interior inflammation of her right ear has necessitated an operation. He said that he immediately despatched to the Emperor my note mentioned in my telegram of November 22nd.

No. 30. *Baron Komura to Mr. Kurino*

(*Telegram.*) Tokio, December 1st, 1903.

THE Japanese Government have from the first attached the highest importance to a speedy solution of the questions which form at this time the subject of negotiations between Japan and Russia. It seemed to them that in a matter of such vital moment as that which engages the attention of the Cabinets of Tokio and St. Petersburg, a quick conclusion was only second in importance to a satisfactory conclusion. Consistently with that view the Japanese Government have at all times during the progress of the negotiations made it a special point to give prompt answers to all propositions of the Russian Government. The negotiations have now been pending for no less than four months, and they have not yet reached a stage where the final issue can with certainty be predicted. In these circumstances the Japanese Government cannot but regard with grave concern the situation for which the delays in negotiations are largely responsible. You are instructed to see Count Lamsdorff as soon as possible and place the foregoing considerations before him in such form and manner as to make your representations as impressive as possible. You will add that the Japanese Government believe they are rendering service to the general interest in thus frankly explaining to the Russian Government the actual state of things.

No. 31. *Mr. Kurino to Baron Komura*

Petersburg, December 2nd, 1903.
(*Telegram.*) Received, December 3rd, 1903.

I HEARD that the Russian Government are still repeatedly communicating with Admiral Alexieff.

No. 32. *Mr. Kurino to Baron Komura*

Petersburg, December 4th, 1903.
(*Telegram.*) Received, December 4th, 1903.

COUNT LAMSDORFF received me on the night of December 3rd. I handed him a French translation of your telegram of December 1st, together with a letter which I addressed to him expressing fully the pressing situation under which the Japanese Government are now laboring. He said that the question requires consideration still, and he is in communication with Admiral Alexieff; but the Emperor is to return December 5th, and he said that he will fully explain the urgency of the matter on the occasion of his audience on the following Tuesday. He thinks he will then be able to send instructions to Baron Rosen. To my question whether it is not possible for him to have audience at an earlier date, he said that Saturday is the fête of Crown Prince, no business is transacted on Sunday, and he will be occupied with other affairs on Monday. He promised to let me know the result of his audience next Wednedsay.

No. 33 *Mr. Kurino to Baron Komura*

Petersburg, December 9th, 1903.
(*Telegram.*) Received, December 10th, 1903.

COUNT LAMSDORFF told me December 9th that an Imperial order had been sent yesterday to Admiral Alexieff and Baron Rosen to continue the negotiations in accordance with the Counter-Proposals of Admiral Alexieff, but that the Japanese propositions have been fully considered. I asked whether he could inform me of the nature of the propositions on which Baron Rosen is authorized to continue the negotiations. He said that they will be officially communicated within two or three days through Baron Rosen to the Japanese Government.

No. 34. *Baron Komura to Mr. Kurino*

(*Telegram.*) Tokio, December 12th, 1903.

BARON ROSEN called on me December 11th and, under instructions of his Government, officially presented to me the following Counter-Proposals of the Russian Government

in reply to our definitive amendments as stated in my telegram of October 30th: —

1. Mutual engagement to respect the independence and territorial integrity of the Corean Empire.

2. Recognition by Russia of Japan's preponderating interests in Corea and of the right of Japan to assist Corea with advice tending to improve the civil administration.

3. Engagement on the part of Russia not to oppose the development of the industrial and commercial activities of Japan in Corea, nor the adoption of measures for the protection of those interests.

4. Recognition by Russia of the right of Japan to send troops to Corea for the purpose mentioned in the preceding article, or for the purpose of suppressing insurrections or disorders capable of creating international complications.

5. Mutual engagement not to make use of any part of the Corean territory for strategical purposes, and not to undertake on the Corean coast any military works capable of menacing the freedom of navigation in the Straits of Corea.

6. Mutual engagement to consider the territory of Corea to the north of the 39th parallel as a neutral zone, within the limits of which neither of the Contracting Parties shall introduce troops.

7. Mutual engagement not to impede the connection of the Corean and East China Railways, when those railways shall have been extended to the Yalu.

8. Abrogation of all previous agreements between Russia and Japan respecting Corea.

No. 35. *Baron Komura to Mr. Kurino*

(*Telegram.*) Tokio, December 21st, 1903.

In an interview with the Russian Minister, December 21st, I pointed out the fundamental difference in territorial compass between Japan's original proposals and Russia's new Counter-Proposals, and after fully explaining the reasons which induced the Japanese Government to believe it to be desirable in the general interest to include in the proposed understanding all regions in the Extreme East where the interests of the two Empires meet, I expressed the hope that the Russian Government would reconsider their position regarding that branch of the question. I also informed

him fully respecting the amendments which Japanese Government consider it necessary to introduce into Russia's new Counter-Proposals. Accordingly, in order to remove every possibility of misunderstanding on the part of Russia respecting the attitude of the Japanese Government, you are instructed to deliver to Count Lamsdorff a Note Verbale to the following effect: —

"The Imperial Government have examined with great care and attention the new Russian Counter-Proposals of the 11th instant. They regret to find that the Imperial Russian Government did not see their way in those proposals to give to the compass of the suggested understanding the same territorial extension as was deemed essential by Japan. The Imperial Government, in their original invitation to the Imperial Russian Government in August last, endeavoured to make it entirely clear that they desired, with a view to remove from their relations with the Imperial Russian Government every cause for future misunderstanding, to bring within the purview of the proposed arrangement all those regions in the Extreme East where the interests of the two Empires meet, and they cannot bring themselves to the conviction that a full realization of that desire can be expected if a large and important portion of those regions is wholly excluded from consideration. Accordingly, the Imperial Government feel constrained to ask the Imperial Russian Government to reconsider their position on the subject, and they hope that the Russian Government will be able to see their way to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the question. The Imperial Government also find it necessary to ask for the following amendments to the new Russian Counter-Proposals: —

"*a.* Article II to read: 'Recognition by Russia of Japan's preponderating interests in Corea and of the right of Japan to give Corea advice and assistance tending to improve the administration of the Corean Empire.'

"*b.* Article V to read: 'Mutual engagement not to undertake on the Corean coast any military works capable of menacing the freedom of navigation in the Straits of Corea;' and

"*c.* Article VI to be suppressed.

"As the principal part of these amendments cannot be said to be in excess of the modifications which were agreed

to *ad referendum* at Tokio, and as the Imperial Government consider those changes indispensable, it is hoped that they will receive the ready agreement of the Imperial Russian Government."

In presenting the foregoing note to Count Lamsdorff, you will say that I have spoken to Baron Rosen in a similar sense, and you will also express the desire for an early response.

No. 36. *Mr. Kurino to Baron Komura*

Petersburg, December 23rd, 1903.
(*Telegram.*) Received, December 24th, 1903.

UPON receipt of your telegraphic instructions, I saw Count Lamsdorff December 23rd at 2 P.M. He told me he had received a telegram from Baron Rosen, stating that the latter had had an interview with you, and that particulars would follow, but such particulars had not been received yet by him. When I handed him the Note Verbale, he said that he would study it together with report from Baron Rosen, and that he would do his best to send the Russian answer at the earliest possible date; but he added that he would have to communicate with Admiral Alexieff. In conclusion, I stated to him that under the present circumstances it might cause serious difficulties, even complications, if we failed to come to an *entente*, and I hoped he would exercise his best influence so as to enable us to reach the desired end.

No. 37. *Mr. Kurino to Baron Komura*

Petersburg, January 1st, 1904.
(*Telegram.*) Received, January 2nd, 1904.

I SAW Count Lamsdorff January 1st, and asked whether any action had been taken regarding our last propositions. He said they had been fully considered; and he asked me to assure you that Baron Rosen will soon be instructed to proceed with the negotiations in a friendly and conciliatory spirit, and he added that he saw no reason why we could not arrive at an *entente*.

No. 38. *Baron Komura to Mr. Kurino*

(*Telegram.*) Tokio, January 7th, 1904.

BARON ROSEN handed to me January 6th the following reply of the Russian Government to our last propositions of December 21st last: —

"Having no objection to the amendments to Article II of the Russian Counter-Proposals as proposed by the Imperial Japanese Government, the Imperial Government considers it necessary:

"1. To maintain the original wording of Article V which had already been agreed to by the Imperial Japanese Government, that is to say, 'mutual engagement not to use any part of the territory of Corea for strategical purposes, not to undertake on the coasts of Corea any military works capable of menacing the freedom of navigation in the Straits of Corea.'

"2. To maintain Article VI concerning a neutral zone (this for the very purpose which the Imperial Japanese Government has likewise in view, that is to say, to eliminate everything that might lead to misunderstandings in the future; a similar zone, for example, exists between the Russian and British possessions in central Asia).

"In case the above conditions are agreed to, the Imperial Government would be prepared to include in the projected agreement an Article of the following tenor:

"Recognition by Japan of Manchuria and her littoral as being outside her sphere of interests, whilst Russia, within the limits of that province, will not impede Japan, nor other Powers in the enjoyment of rights and privileges acquired by them under existing treaties with China, exclusive of the establishment of settlements."

No. 39. *Baron Komura to Mr. Kurino*

(*Telegram.*) Tokio, January 13th, 1904.

YOU are instructed to deliver to Count Lamsdorff a Note Verbale to the following effect which, you will say, is intended to confirm to him the views of the Imperial Government communicated by me to Baron Rosen on the 13th January: —

The Imperial Government, in order to arrive at a pacific solution of the pending questions, and to firmly establish

the basis of good relation between Japan and Russia, and in addition with a view to protect the rights and interests of Japan, have given most careful and serious consideration to the reply of the Imperial Russian Government which was delivered by His Excellency Baron Rosen on the 6th instant. They have finally come to the conclusion that the following modifications are necessary, *i.e.:* —

1. Suppression of the first clause of Article V of the Russian Counter-Proposals (presented to the Japanese Government through Baron Rosen, December 11th) that is to say, "not to use any part of Corean territory for strategical purposes."

2. Suppression of the whole Article (VI) concerning establishment of a neutral zone.

3. The Russian proposal concerning Manchuria to be agreed to with the following modifications:

a. Recognition by Japan of Manchuria and its littoral as being outside her sphere of interest and an engagement on the part of Russia to respect the territorial integrity of China in Manchuria.

b. Russia within the limits of Manchuria will not impede Japan nor other Powers in the enjoyment of rights and privileges acquired by them under the existing treaties with China.

c. Recognition by Russia of Corea and its littoral as being outside her sphere of interest.

4. Addition of an Article to the following effect:

Recognition by Japan of Russia's special interests in Manchuria and of the right of Russia to take measures necessary for the protection of those interests.

The grounds for these amendments having been frequently and fully explained on previous occasions, the Imperial Government do not think it necessary to repeat the explanations. It is sufficient here to express their earnest hope for reconsideration by the Imperial Russian Government.

It should be further remarked that the suppression of the clause excluding the establishment of settlements in Manchuria is desired because it conflicts with stipulations of the new Commercial Treaty between Japan and China. In this respect, however, Japan will be satisfied if she receives equal treatment with another Power which has already acquired similar rights in regard to settlements in Manchuria. The statement in the Russian reply that the Japanese Govern-

ment have agreed to the original wording of Article V of the Russian Counter-Proposals is erroneous, no such agreement ever having been expressed by the Imperial Government.

The above-mentioned amendments being proposed by the Imperial Government entirely in a spirit of conciliation, it is expected that they will be received with the same spirit at the hands of the Imperial Russian Government; and the Imperial Government further hope for an early reply from the Imperial Russian Government, since further delay in the solution of the question will be extremely disadvantageous to the two countries.

No. 40 *Baron Komura to Mr. Kurino*

(*Telegram.*) Tokio, January 23rd, 1904.

You are instructed to sound Count Lamsdorff respecting the probable nature of Russia's reply to our last note and when the reply will be delivered.

No. 41. *Mr. Kurino to Baron Komura*

Petersburg, January 25th, 1904.
(*Telegram.*) Received, January 25th, 1904.

In reference to your telegram of 23rd instant, I saw Count Lamsdorff January 24th and asked his views in regard to our last proposals and also how soon the Russian answer could be given. He was not inclined to enter into details, but said that there are certain points to which he could not agree. He expects to lay his views before the Emperor next Tuesday, January 26th, and he hopes to be able to send an answer before long.

M. de Hartwig, whom I saw this afternoon, told me that the Department of Foreign Affairs is yet in communication with Admiral Alexieff, and he cannot say how soon an answer can be sent to Japan.

No. 42. *Baron Komura to Mr. Kurino*

(*Telegram.*) Tokio, January 26th, 1904.

As the situation admits of no indefinite delay in the settlement of the questions involved, you will seek an interview with Count Lamsdorff at the earliest opportunity and

state to him as an instruction from your Government that in the opinion of the Imperial Government a further prolongation of the present state of things being calculated to accentuate the gravity of the situation, it is their earnest hope that they will be honoured with an early reply, and that they wish to know at what time they may expect to receive the reply.

No. 43. *Mr. Kurino to Baron Komura*

Petersburg, January 26th, 1904.
(*Telegram.*) Received, January 27th, 1904.

In reference to your telegram of the 26th instant, the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs said that the Ministers of War, Marine and other authorities concerned are to meet on the 28th January for the consideration of the question, and that their decision will be submitted to the Emperor for sanction, and he remarked that it had been the intention of Admiral Alexieff to come here; but that that idea was now abandoned, and his opinion will soon be received by telegraph. Under these circumstances, he says, he is unable to give the exact date when the reply will be given; but he can say it will not be much delayed. He said that he had received reports from official sources to the effect that Japan had sent a considerable number of troops, munitions, and war materials to Corea, and asked me whether I could give any explanation regarding it. I simply answered that I knew nothing of such facts, and regretted not being able to give him any explanation. He added that such action on the part of Japan causes a very bad impression, while the two Governments are engaged seriously in such important negotiations. Telegraph me for my information whether the reports are true, and if so, the details.

No. 44. *Baron Komura to Mr. Kurino*

(*Telegram.*) Tokio, January 28th, 1904.

In reference to your telegram of 26th instant, you will see Count Lamsdorff at an early opportunity and say to him that you have been authorized to deny positively the statement that Japan has sent to Corea a considerable number of troops, munitions, and war materials. As a matter

of fact, no troops have recently been sent to Corea nor any ammunitions have been sent beyond the amount required for the ordinary use of the Japanese troops stationed in Corea. You will then ask him whether the report that Russian troops are being concentrated on the Corean frontier is true, and if so, that such military movement is to be highly deprecated. Finally, you will ask him whether he is not able to acquaint you, for your own information, with the nature of the decision taken at the proposed conference of the Ministers on the 28th January, and whether he can indicate the approximate date on which the Russian reply is to be given.

No. 45. *Mr. Kurino to Baron Komura*

Petersburg, January 28th, 1904.
(*Telegram.*) Received, January 29th, 1904.

COUNT LAMSDORFF is satisfied with the explanation contained in your telegram of to-day. As to the question regarding the concentration of Russian troops near the Yalu, he does not believe it to be true, and he remarked that such newspaper reports are very regrettable. I tried to obtain information about the decision of to-day's meeting. He said that it is not possible for him to say anything concerning it as it will not be sent to the Emperor, and that until the respective Ministers have been received by the Emperor respecting the question, nothing can be said definitely. He stated that the Grand Duke Alexieff and the Minister of Marine are to be received in audience next Monday, and the Minister of War and himself on Tuesday; and he thinks an answer will be sent to Admiral Alexieff on the latter day. I pointed out the urgent necessity to accelerate the despatch of an answer as much as possible, because further prolongation of the present condition is not only undesirable but rather dangerous. I added that all the while the world is loud with rumours and that I hoped he would take special steps so as to have an answer sent at an earlier date than mentioned. He replied that he knows the existing condition of things very well, but that the dates of audience being fixed as above mentioned, it is not now possible to change them; and he repeated that he will do his best to send the reply next Tuesday.

No. 46. *Baron Komura to Mr. Kurino*

(*Telegram.*) Tokio, January 30th, 1904.

In reference to your telegram of January 28th, you are instructed to see Count Lamsdorff at the earliest opportunity and state to him substantially in the following sense: —

"Having reported to your Government that the Russian Government would probably give a reply on next Tuesday you have been instructed to say to Count Lamsdorff that being fully convinced of the serious disadvantage to the two Powers concerned of the further prolongation of the present situation, the Imperial Government hoped that they might be able to receive the reply of the Russian Government earlier than the date mentioned by Count Lamsdorff. As it, however, appears that the receipt of the reply at an earlier date is not possible, the Imperial Government wish to know whether they will be honoured with the reply at the date mentioned by Count Lamsdorff, namely, next Tuesday, or if it is not possible, what will be the exact date on which the reply is to be given."

If Count Lamsdorff specifies the day on which the reply is to be given, you will see him on that day and ask him to acquaint you with the exact nature of the reply.

No. 47. *Mr. Kurino to Baron Komura*

Petersburg, February 1st, 1904.
(*Telegram.*) Received, February 1st, 1904.

Regarding your telegram of the 30th January, I saw Count Lamsdorff in the evening January 31st. He says he appreciates fully the gravity of the present situation, and is certainly desirous to send an answer as quickly as possible; but the question is a very serious one, and is not to be lightly dealt with. In addition, the opinions of the Ministers concerned and Admiral Alexieff had to be brought into harmony; hence the natural delay. As to the date of sending an answer, he says, it is not possible for him to give the exact date as it entirely depends upon the decision of the Emperor, though he will not fail to use his efforts to hurry the matter.

WAR APPENDIX

No. 48. *Baron Komura to Mr. Kurino*

(*Telegram.*) Tokio, February 5th, 1904. 2.15 P.M.

FURTHER prolongation of the present situation being inadmissible, the Imperial Government have decided to terminate the pending negotiations and to take such independent action as they may deem necessary to defend their menaced position and to protect their rights and interests. Accordingly you are instructed to address to Count Lamsdorff, immediately upon receipt of this telegram, a signed note to the following effect: —

"The undersigned, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of His Majesty the Emperor of Japan, has the honour, in pursuance of instructions from his Government, to address to His Excellency the Minister for Foreign Affairs of His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias the following communications: —

"The Government of His Majesty the Emperor of Japan regard the independence and territorial integrity of the Empire of Corea as essential to their own repose and safety, and they are consequently unable to view with indifference any action tending to render the position of Corea insecure.

"The successive rejections by the Imperial Russian Government by means of inadmissible amendments of Japan's proposals respecting Corea, the adoption of which the Imperial Government regarded as indispensable to assure the independence and territorial integrity of the Corean Empire and to safeguard Japan's preponderating interests in the Peninsula, coupled with the successive refusals of the Imperial Russian Government to enter into engagements to respect China's territorial integrity in Manchuria which is seriously menaced by their continued occupation of the province, notwithstanding their treaty engagements with China and their repeated assurances to other powers possessing interests in those regions, have made it necessary for the Imperial Government seriously to consider what measures of self-defence they are called upon to take.

"In the presence of delays which remain largely unexplained and naval and military activities which it is difficult to reconcile with entirely pacific aims, the Imperial Govern-

ment have exercised in the depending negotiations a degree of forbearance which they believe affords abundant proof of their loyal desire to remove from their relations with the Imperial Russian Government every cause for future misunderstanding. But finding in their efforts no prospect of securing from the Imperial Russian Government an adhesion either to Japan's moderate and unselfish proposals or to any other proposals likely to establish a firm and enduring peace in the Extreme East, the Imperial Government have no other alternative than to terminate the present futile negotiations.

"In adopting that course the Imperial Government reserve to themselves the right to take such independent action as they may deem best to consolidate and defend their menaced position, as well as to protect their established rights and legitimate interests.

"The Undersigned, etc., etc."

No. 49. *Baron Komura to Mr. Kurino*

(*Telegram.*) Tokio, February 5th, 1904. 2.15 P.M.

You are instructed to address to Count Lamsdorff a signed note to the following effect simultaneously with the note mentioned in my previous telegram: —

"The Undersigned, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of His Majesty the Emperor of Japan, has the honour, in pursuance of instructions from his Government, to acquaint His Excellency the Minister for Foreign Affairs of His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias that the Imperial Government of Japan, having exhausted without effect every means of conciliation with a view to the removal from their relations with the Imperial Russian Government of every cause for future complications, and finding that their just representations and moderate and unselfish proposals in the interest of a firm and lasting peace in the Extreme East are not receiving the consideration which is their due, have resolved to sever their diplomatic relations with the Imperial Russian Government which for the reason named have ceased to possess any value.

"In further fulfilment of the command of his Government, the Undersigned has also the honour to announce to

His Excellency Count Lamsdorff that it is his intention to take his departure from St. Petersburg with the staff of the Imperial Legation on ..... date.

"The Undersigned, etc., etc."

No. 50. *Mr. Kurino to Baron Komura*

Petersburg, February 5th, 1904. 5.05 A.M.
(*Telegram.*) Received, February 5th, 1904. 5.15 P.M.

IN compliance with the request of Count Lamsdorff, I went to see him at 8 P.M. February 4th. He told me that the substance of the Russian answer had been just sent to Admiral Alexieff, to be transmitted to Baron Rosen. He added that Admiral Alexieff may happen to introduce some changes so as to meet local circumstances; but in all probability there will be no such changes. He then stated as his own opinion that Russia desires the principle of independence and integrity of Corea and also, of necessity, the free passage of the Corean Straits. Though Russia is willing to make every possible concession, she does not desire to see Corea utilized for strategic purposes against Russia, and believes it useful for the consolidation of good relations with Japan to establish by common accord a buffer region between confines of direct influence and action of the two countries in the Far East. The above is expressed entirely as his personal opinion, and I cannot say whether the same is the substance of the above-mentioned answer, though it seems to be very probable.

No. 51. *Mr. Kurino to Baron Komura*

Petersburg, February 6th, 1904. 5.57 P.M.
(*Telegram.*) Received, February 7th, 1904. 5.45 A.M.

IN reference to your two telegrams of yesterday's date, I presented to Count Lamsdorff to-day at 4 P.M. the notes as instructed. I shall withdraw from here with my staff and students on the 10th instant.

WAR APPENDIX

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF IMPORTANT EVENTS

July 1903

28. Opening of diplomatic negotiations between Russia and Japan regarding Korea and Manchuria.

February 1904

6. Diplomatic relations broken off.
7. Japan seized Masanpho, Korea, capturing there the Russian torpedo boat Rasboynik.
8. Japanese torpedo boats attacked the Russian fleet outside Port Arthur, disabling the battleships *Czarevitch* and *Retvizan* and the cruiser *Pallada*, which were beached. The cruisers *Novik*, *Askold*, *Diana*, and *Poltava* were damaged below the water line but afterwards repaired, as were the battleships.
9. Attack on Port Arthur by Japanese warships; the Russian fleet was driven into the harbor, the battleship *Poltava* and cruisers *Novik*, *Askold*, and *Diana* being injured.

    In Chemulpo harbor, Korea, a Japanese squadron sunk the Russian cruiser *Variag*, killing and wounding 53 of her crew. The torpedo gunboat *Korietz* was blown up at the same time by the Russians.
10. Japan formally declares war.
11. United States declares neutrality.

    Japanese merchantman sunk by *Vladivostock* fleet.
12. Russian minister leaves Seoul guarded by Japanese troops.

    China proclaims her neutrality.
13. Russian torpedo transport *Yenisei* blown up by accidental contact with mines in Talien Bay; officers and crew, numbering 95, were lost.
14. Torpedo attack on Port Arthur fleet, in which two Russian ships were damaged. Russian cruiser *Boyarin* sunk by mines and her officers and crew, numbering 197, lost.
16. Japanese fleet bombarded Port Arthur.

    Japan landing troops at Wonsan and Chemulpo, Korea.

    Russian army concentrating at Harbin.

    Viceroy Alexieff leaves Port Arthur.

17. Admiral Makaroff supersedes Admiral Starck.
Fifty million dollar loan taken up in Japan.

19. Twenty-five hundred Japanese troops landed at Plaksin Bay, East Korea; movement toward the west checked by snows in the mountains later.

20. Japanese fleet bombarded Port Arthur.
Cossacks cross the Yalu in Corea.
Russian account of diplomatic negotiations published.

21. Kuropatkin appointed commander-in-chief of the Russian forces in Manchuria.

22. Count Lamsdorff issues an explanatory circular to the Powers, charging Japan with violating international law in regard to Corea.

23. Japanese-Corean treaty signed at Seoul, Japan guaranteeing "the independence and territorial integrity of the Corean empire."

24. First Japanese attempt to block Port Arthur channel by sending in four old steamers loaded with stone; the plan failed.
Thirty thousand Japanese troops deployed between Seoul and Ping-Yang.

25. Japanese naval attack on Port Arthur repulsed.
Viceroy Alexieff, in proclamation, warns Chinese to aid Russia or be exterminated as robbers.
Russians cut Anju-Ping-Yang telegraph lines.

First Land Action of the War

26. First land action of the war. Troops in touch at Ping-Yang, Corea.

29. Japan seizes one of the Elliot Islands, belonging to China, for a naval base.

March

2. Both Japan and Russia issue statements, the former saying Russia did not want peace, the latter that she could not safely evacuate Manchuria at the time pledged.

4. More than 20,000 Japanese troops landed at Chinampo, Corea.
Japan gives Russia the lie relating to the latter's charge of Japanese violation of international law in Corea.

6. Japanese warships shelled Vladivostock at long range, doing little damage; Russian forts did not reply.

7. China grants exequaturs for American consuls at Moukden and Antung.
8. Vladivostock again bombarded without effect.
9. Admiral Makaroff made a sortie from Port Arthur late at night with six torpedo boats, one of which was lost. The Japanese also lost a torpedo boat.
12. Kuropatkin leaves St. Petersburg for the front.
16. Russian torpedo boat *Skorri* sunk by mines at Port Arthur.
22. Japanese fleet again bombarded Port Arthur. Second attempt to block the channel fails.
23. Japanese and Russians in touch at Pakchen, Korea.
27. Russian torpedo boat *Stilni* disabled by Japanese shell at Port Arthur; 7 killed, 12 wounded.
Kuropatkin arrives at Moukden.
31. State of siege declared in the Port Arthur district.

April

3. Russians abandon Wiju, Korea, and retire across the Yalu into Manchuria.
4. Japanese occupy Wiju.
7. Japanese supply ships enter the Yalu.
8–9. Skirmishing along the Yalu.
12. Japanese naval vessels strew mines outside of Port Arthur.
13. Russian battleship *Petropavlovsk* sunk by Japanese mine off Port Arthur. Admiral Makaroff with officers and crew to the number of 674 being drowned.
Russian battleship *Pallada* seriously damaged by Japanese mine at same time and place.
Russian torpedo boat *Besztrashni* sunk by fire of Japanese the same day.
14. The battleship *Pobieda*, while manœuvring off Port Arthur, struck a mine and was badly damaged.
15. Kasuga and Nisshin bombard Port Arthur by high-angle fire from Pigeon Bay.
22. Russian launch blown up while laying mines at Port Arthur; 21 men lost.
23. Japanese advanced guard crosses the Yalu.
25. Russian Vladivostock squadron entered the harbor of Wonsan, Korea, and sunk a Japanese merchant steamer.

27. The Japanese transport *Kinshiu Maru* was sunk by the Russian *Vladivostock* squadron in the Sea of Japan; 78 drowned; 210 taken prisoners.

27. Third Japanese attempt to block the channel at Port Arthur fails.

Fighting on the Yalu begins.

Battle of the Yalu

29–30 and May 1. Battle of the Yalu. The first Japanese Army, under Kuroki, forces the crossing of the Yalu near Wiju, defeats Russians under Sassulitch at Kuliencheng and Hamatan, with a loss of about 4,000 men on both sides, and captures 28 guns.

May

4. In a fourth desperate attempt the Japanese sunk five merchant ships at the entrance to the inner harbor of Port Arthur, but did not seal the Port.

Second Japanese Army sails from Chinampo.

Admiral Hosoya with first fleet of transports appears off Pitsewo, in Liao-Tung Peninsula.

6. Japanese army under Oku began landing at Pitsewo.

7. Japanese army cut the railroad and telegraphic communications with Port Arthur at Polandien.

10. Cossacks unsuccessfully attack Anju.

12. The Russians destroyed deep-water piers at Dalny.

Japanese bombard Talien.

Japanese torpedo boat No. 48 blown up while removing Russian mines from Kerr Bay; seven of crew killed, seven wounded.

Japanese six per cent sterling loan of £50,000,000 issued in London and New York at 93½.

13. Russian five per cent external loan of £150,000,000 issued by Banque de Paris group.

14. Japanese cruiser Miyako blown up while removing mines in Kerr Bay; 8 of crew killed.

15. Japanese battleship *Hatsuse* sunk by striking submerged Russian mine outside Port Arthur, and 480 officers and men killed. Battleship *Yashima* also was sunk by a Russian mine. Japanese cruiser *Yoshino* rammed and sunk by sister ship, *Kasuga*, off Port Arthur, and 232 officers and men drowned.

16. Japanese Second Army moves on Kin-Chow.
17. Japanese torpedo boat destroyer *Skalasuki* sunk off Port Arthur. Gunboat *Oshima* sunk in collision while cooperating with Japanese army.
19. Japanese Third Army lands at Takushan.
20. Russian cruiser *Bogatyr* ran on the rocks near Vladivostock; afterwards pulled off and docked.
24. Japanese bombard Port Arthur.
26. Kin-Chow captured by Japanese, and Russians driven from a strong position at Nanshan in all day battle; Japanese lost 4,304 killed and wounded; Russians reported total casualties of 730.
30. Japanese occupied Dalny, securing much valuable property; docks blocked by sunken ships.

Japanese defeat mixed Russian force at Lichaton, nine miles north of Polondien, with losses of 73; Russian loss unknown.

June

3. Russian diversion in favor of Port Arthur; 20,000 troops moving south from Kai-Chow under command of Stalkelberg.
4 Russian gunboat sunk while removing mines from Port Arthur roadstead.
7. Russians driven from Samaltsa and Sin-Yen after hotly contested battles.
11. Japanese blockade New Chawng.
14. The Russian destroyer flotilla makes a sortie from Port Arthur, but is driven back by Togo.

Russians Beaten at Vafango

14, 15, 16. Battle of Vafangow (Telisse) results in decisive victory for Japanese. Total Russian casualties 3,426; Japanese 1,193.

Russians lose 16 guns and retire on Kaiping.

15. *Vladivostock* squadron sinks two Japanese transports, the *Hitachi* and *Izuni*, and disables the *Sado*, in Sea of Japan.
16. Vladivostock squadron captures the *Allanton*, bound from Muroran to Singapore.
18, 25. Generals Kuroki and Oku advancing to form juncture of armies for joint attack on Russian main army. Constant skirmishes mark movement.

23. Russian fleet made sortie from Port Arthur, and after declining battle with Togo's fleet, was attacked in outer harbor by Japanese torpedo boats. Togo's report that one battleship was sunk, and one, together with large cruiser, damaged, was not borne out by later news.

Kuropatkin takes command of the Russian army in person.

26. The two armies face to face, Russians holding the line Kai-Chow, Tashichiao, Liao-Yang. Japanese south of Kai-Chow, Lienshan-kuan, Sa matse.

Japanese approach Port Arthur from the land side, and capture Hsitaushan and Kenshan.

Japanese captured Russian positions at Gum-San-Shan, ten miles northeast of Port Arthur.

27. General Kuroki's army captured Fenshui, Motien, and Dalin passes, giving them access to the valley of the Liao.

28. Japanese Sixth Division lands at Kerr Bay.

30. Vladivostock squadron bombards Wonsan Korea.

July

1. Vladivostock squadron eludes Admiral Kammura near Tsu Shima.

3. Russians defeated in battle at Langtse Pass, west of Motien Pass, with loss of 210.

4. Japanese captured Miao-Tsui Fort, with eight guns, four miles northeast of Port Arthur.

General Fock made sortie from Port Arthur, driving back the Japanese line west of the town.

Russian attack on Japanese in Motien Pass repulsed, with loss of 200 men; Japanese loss 60.

5. Japanese gunboat *Kaimon* sunk by mine outside Talien Bay; 22 of crew lost.

4–6. The St. *Petersburg* and *Smolensk*, cruisers of the Russian volunteer fleet, pass the Bosphorus under the commercial flag.

5–7. Sortie from Port Arthur reported to have recaptured positions on northeast with heavy loss to Japanese.

6. Marshal Oyama, commander-in-chief, leaves Tokio for the front.

9. Japanese, under Oku, capture Kai-Chow, after three days' fighting.

11. British steamships *Menelaus* and *Crewe Hall* stopped south of Jiddah by Russian volunteer cruiser *St. Petersburg*.

JAPANESE OCCUPY YIN KOW

13. Japanese occupy Yin Kow, and move towards New Chwang; Nodzu's army occupied Simuchen, 20 miles east of Hai-Cheng.

British steamer *Malacca* stopped by *St. Petersburg* in Red Sea and taken back to Suez.

14. Announcement that the Baltic fleet will sail for the Far East.

15. Steamship *Prinz Heinrich* stopped by Smolensk and mails seized.

16. British steamship *Hipsang* sunk by Russian destroyer in Gulf of Pechili.

17. Attack by General Count Keller on the Motien position fails.

18. Germany protests against the Russian seizure of mails from the *Heinrich*.

Japanese cruiser *Haiyen* sunk by mine in Pigeon Bay; 250 drowned.

19. Steamship *Scandia* stopped in Red Sea and taken back to Suez.

Preliminary Japanese attack on Liao-Yang repulsed.

20. Vladivostock squadron passes Tsugaru Straits into the Pacific, pursued by Japanese torpedo flotilla.

British ambassador in St. Petersburg makes formal protest against the seizure of the *Malacca*, and requests her immediate release.

21. Russia says she will release the *Malacca* if wrongfully seized.

24. Order issued recalling the Russian volunteer cruisers *Smolensk* and *St. Petersburg*, their war status being questioned.

Russians begin evacuation of New Chwang.

Japanese pushing Russians out of their positions south of Liao-Yang.

British steamer *Knight Commander* sunk by Vladivostock squadron off Idzu.

British steamer *Formosa* seized in the Red Sea and taken back to Suez.

Japanese torpedo three Russian destroyers outside Port Arthur.

25. Japanese, under General Oku, after severe fighting, drive the Russians back from their positions at Tashichiao.

Japanese occupy New Chwang.

26–30. Japanese capture Wolf Hill at Port Arthur after severe fighting. General Stoessel retreats towards Port Arthur.

27. Steamer *Malacca* released at Algiers.

28. M. von Plehve, Russian minister of the interior, assassinated by a bomb at St. Petersburg.

31. Japanese advance all along the line. Russians driven in on Hai-Cheng and other positions south of Liao-Yang.

August

1. Sortie of torpedo boats from Port Arthur.
2. Hai-Cheng evacuated by the Russians.
3. Japanese occupy Hai-Cheng.
5. Sea and land attack on Port Arthur, Green and Christ Hills, north and northeast of the city, taken.
7. Japanese land troops in Louisa Bay, west of Port Arthur.

BOTH RUSSIAN FLEETS DEFEATED

10. Sortie by the Port Arthur fleet. Admiral Togo attacks and disperses ships, seriously damaging five battleships. Admiral Witoft killed. Russian vessels take refuge in the neutral ports — the *Czarevitch* at Tsingtay, the *Askold* and *Grozsovoi* at Shanghai, the *Diana* at Szigon, and the *Ryeshitelni* at Che Foo — but the majority are driven back into Port Arthur.

11. A Russian destroyer stranded twenty miles east of Wei-Hai-Wei.

Lord Lansdowne makes a statement in the House of Lords with regard to contraband.

12. Japanese violate Chinese neutrality by entering the harbor of Che Foo and cutting out the Russian destroyer *Ryeshitelni*.

Son born to the czar.

13. Admiral Rojestvensky assumes command of the Baltic fleet.

14. Vladivostock fleet met forty miles northeast of Tsu Islands and defeated by the Japanese fleet under Kamimura. The *Rurik* sunk, and the *Rossia* and *Gromoboi* escaped badly damaged. The captain and all of the superior officers of the *Rurik* perished. The Japanese rescued 601 of the crew, of whom 177 were wounded.

Russia protests to China against the seizure of the *Ryeshitelni* by the Japanese. China demanded the restoration of the vessel.

15. Japanese attack Ulgolvala Mountain, near Louisa Bay, but are repulsed with great loss.

16. General Nogi demands the surrender of Port Arthur, offering safe conduct for non-combatants.

Russian fleet attempts another sortie from Port Arthur.

17. General Stoessel refuses to surrender Port Arthur or to accept safe conduct for non-combatants.

American and British ambassadors protest against Russia's ruling that food is contraband of war.

18. Japan refuses to give up the *Ryeshitelni*.

Attack on Port Arthur renewed.

Russian gunboat *Otvajni* sunk by mine off Liao-to-shan.

Japan protests against prolonged stay of Russian ships *Askold* and *Grozsovoi* at Shanghai.

First General Attack on Port Arthur

19. First general attack on Port Arthur begun; siege mortars in operation.

20. Japan issues a statement in defence of her cutting out of the *Ryeshitelni*.

Russian cruiser *Novik*, which escaped from Port Arthur, August 10, caught off Korsakovsk, Sakhalin, and driven ashore.

Riglung trenches at Port Arthur captured by Japanese and retaken by Russians.

21. Japanese driven out of East Keekwan Fort, Port Arthur, by Russian sortie.

22. East and West Panlungshon forts, Port Arthur, taken by Japanese.

Russian battleship *Sevastopol* damaged by a mine.

Left flank of Kuroki's army closes in on Lao-Yan.

23. Japanese make desperate assaults on Wnatai and the north fort east of Keekwan Mountain, Port Arthur, but are driven back.

24. Early morning assault on the Keekwan forts repulsed by the Russians with great slaughter. Japanese losses in the six days of the first general assault on Port Arthur exceed 14,000 men. The operation as a whole was a failure, though the Japanese succeeded in holding on to one point of value — Banjusan Fort.

Russian cruisers *Askold* and *Grozsovoi* ordered dismantled by the czar.

25. Japanese army begins its general advance on Liao-Yang.

26. Japanese centre takes Kung-Chang, southeast of Liao-Yang, and the left wing attacks Anshanshan.

Japanese drive Russians out of positions on Pigeon Bay, west of Port Arthur.

28. Japanese capture parade ground northwest of Port Arthur.

Kuroki advances right wing of the Japanese army and gets in touch with centre and left before Liao-Yang.

29–30. Japanese bombard Russian positions at Liao-Yang and make infantry attacks, but make no material impression on the defence.

31. Second and Third Japanese Armies resume their attack and make progress in the direction of Hsin-li-tun and Shou-Shan.

September

1. Russians driven out of their works at these points, and Russian right and centre fall back towards river line. First Army carries Mankayama Hill.

2–3. Oku's and Nodzu's armies continue their attacks.

3. Kuropatkin orders a general retreat.

Japanese torpedo boat destroyer *Hayatori* sunk by mine off Port Arthur.

Japanese Occupy Liao-Yang

4. Russian rearguard, after delaying Japanese for two days, finally evacuates Liao-Yang.

The Japanese enter Liao-Yang at 3 A.M. Russia loses 14,000 and Japan 17,500 men in this movement.

4–5. Russian army in retreat fights rearguard actions. Kuroki occupies Yental coal mines.
6. British cruiser *Forte* notifies the *St. Petersburg* and *Smolensk* of the czar's orders to desist from interfering with neutral shipping.
7. Kuropatkin arrives at Moukden.
13. Vladivostock Prize Court orders release of British steamer *Calchas*, but confiscates its cargo of flour and cotton.
16. Russia recognizes distinction between absolute and conditional contrabrand.
18. Japanese armored gunboat *Hei-yen* strikes a mine and sinks.
19–20. Capture of Fort Kuropatkin and the Sueiszeying redoubts at Port Arthur.
20. Capture of Namaokayana.
21. Japanese obtain a footing on 203-Metre Hill but are subsequently obliged to retire.
25. Russian imperial rescript appointing General Gripenberg to command Second Manchurian Army.
26. Railway around Lake Baikal opened.
29. Japan introduces new military system, making men who have passed into the territorial army eligible for foreign service for 17½ years.

Battle of the Shakhe River

October

2. Kuropatkin issues an order of the day, declaring the Manchurian Army to be strong enough to begin a forward movement.
9. Russians cross the Taitse and attack the Japanese First Army.
10–11. Severe fighting at Penshui.
12, 13, 14. Heavy fighting all along the line. Russians driven back over the Shakhe. Russian loss exceeding 33,000 and the Japanese nearly 16,000.
15. Baltic fleet sails from Libau.
16. Japanese capture Hachimakeyama (near Ehrlungshan), Port Arthur.
17. Baltic fleet anchors off the Danish coast.
20. Baltic fleet proceeds to the North Sea.

THE DOGGER BANK INCIDENT

21–22. Baltic fleet, at midnight, fires on Hull fishing fleet. One vessel sunk, two fishermen killed.

22. The Supreme Prize Court in St. Petersburg releases the Allanton.

24. Urgent representations addressed by the British to the Russian Government in regard to North Sea incident. Preliminary orders for mutual support and cooperation sent to the British Mediterranean, Channel and home fleets.

25. The czar sends a message to King Edward expressing his extreme regret.

26. Baltic fleet arrives at Vigo.

Japanese seize trenches on the Ehrlungshan glacis, Port Arthur.

28. Premier Balfour at Southampton announces that an International Commission of Inquiry is to be constituted, in accordance with the provisions of The Hague Convention, to inquire into the North Sea affair.

Four Russian officers of the Baltic fleet left behind at Vigo.

30. Baltic fleet begins to arrive at Tangier.

31. Japanese gain possession of the glacis crests of Ehrlungshan, Sungshushan, and the North Fort of East Keekwanshan, at Port Arthur.

November

2. Sir Charles Hardinge submits the British proposals for the constitution of the North Sea Commission of Inquiry.

4. British Foreign Office issues statement on contraband.

5. Russia accepts the draft proposals of Great Britain, but difficulties are subsequently raised.

Baltic fleet leaves Tangier.

General Linevitch appointed to command First and General Kaulbars appointed to command Third Manchurian Army.

6. Japanese gunboat *Atago* wrecked off Port Arthur.

10. Admiral Alexieff arrives in St. Petersburg.

Admiral Fölkersam's division of the Baltic fleet at Suda Bay.

12. Admiral Rojestvensky at Dakar.

14. Japanese six per cent sterling loan (second series) for $50,000,000 issued in London and New York at 90½.
15. Board of Trade inquiry on North Sea incident opened at Hull.
16. Russian destroyer *Raxtoropni* blown up by her commander at Che Foo.
17. Supplementary division of the Baltic fleet leaves Libau.
24. Admiral Fölkersam's first division of the Baltic fleet arrives at Port Said.
25. Anglo-Russian Convention, agreeing to submit the North Sea incident to an International Commission of inquiry, signed in St. Petersburg.

    Attention drawn to the voyage of the torpedo boat *Caroline* from the Thames to Libau.
26. Confiscation of the Cheltenham confirmed in St. Petersburg.

    Rojestvensky at Baboon (French Congo).
27. Fölkersam's divisions leave Suez.
28. Letter published from Lord Lansdowne to the Chamber of Shipping, setting forth the view of the Foreign Office as to the supply of British coal to the Russian fleet. British colliers for Russian fleet subject to confiscation.

Japanese Take 203-Metre Hill

30. Capture of 203-Metre Hill. Russians lose 3,000 men, Japanese possible 12,000.

    Japanese cruiser Sai Yen sunk by mine off Port Arthur.

December

2. Fölkersam's division passes Perim.

    Crews of Russian warships give trouble at Shanghai.
3. Supreme Prize Court at St. Petersburg reverses decision of Vladivostock tribunal as to Thea (sinking declared not justified) and Arabia (cargo of flour now declared not to be contraband).

    Guns of Japanese naval brigade open fire on Russian ships in Port Arthur.
5. The Russian naval headquarters staff in St. Petersburg admits that crusier *Aurora* was struck by Russian shells on night of October 21.

    Fölkersam's division coaling at the Musha Islands.

6. Japanese occupy Akasayama, Port Arthur.
Rojestvensky at Great Fish Bay.
11. Rojestvensky at Angra Pequena.
12. Cruiser *Takasago* sunk by mine off Port Arthur.
12–15. Torpedo attacks on the Sevastopol in outer harbor of Port Arthur.
18. Tungkeekwanshan Fort taken.
19. Rojestvensky passes Cape Town.
Japanese seize the British steamer *Nigretia* bound for Vladivostock.
22. Japanese occupy Hon-san-yang-tau, near Pigeon Bay.
Japanese squadron reported off Singapore.
North Sea Commission of Inquiry meets in Paris and adjourns to January 9.
22–25. Japanese dislodge several Russian outposts at Port Arthur.
24. Admiral Togo reduces the blockading squadron.
28. Capture of Ehrlungshan.
31. Capture Sungshooshan.

Surrender of Port Arthur

January 1905

1. General Stoessel proposes and General Nogi accepts surrender of Port Arthur.
Four Russian destroyers escape to Che-Foo.
Rojestvensky arrives at Ile Sainte Marie, off Madagascar.
2. Port Arthur capitulation agreement signed.
3. Flökersam's division of the Baltic fleet arrives at Passandava Bay, Madagascar.
4. Itszshan and other forts delivered to Japanese as guarantee of capitulation.
5. Meeting of Nogi and Stoessel.
Official report by General Nogi places the surrendered garrison at 32,207 prisoners and over 15,000 sick and wounded.
6. Prisoners march out of Port Arthur.
8. Supplementary division of Baltic fleet leaves Suda Bay.
9. International Commission of Inquiry into North Sea incident resumes its sittings.
10. Supplementary squadron of Baltic fleet (Admiral Botrovosky) at Port Said.

11–12. General Mishchenko makes a raid to the south from the Moukden front; attacks old New Chwang and cuts railroad line, but is forced to retire.

12. $78,000,000 of a Russian 4½ per cent loan of $125,000,000 issued in Berlin. Remainder was to be issued later.

General Nogi announces capture of 546 guns and 82,670 rounds of gun ammunition at Port Arthur.

13. Baltic fleet at Diego Suarez.

Admiral Botrovsky's squadron leaves Suez.

Russian circular note presented to Powers, protesting against alleged infractions of Chinese neutrality.

18. Admiral Botrovsky's squadron at Jibuti.

19. First public sitting of Commission of Inquiry in Paris.

"Bloody Friday" in St. Petersburg

22. Strike riots in St. Petersburg. Troops fire on populace.

25–29. Battle of Heikon-Tai. Russians cross the Hun and attack the Japanese left wing. Heavy fighting, at the conclusion of which the Russians are forced to retire. Japanese losses 9,000 killed and wounded. Russian losses over 10,000.

31. Japanese statement denies the charges in the Russian circular respecting alleged infractions of Chinese neutrality.

February

7. British steamer *Eastry*, for Vladivostock, with coal, captured off Hokkaido by Japanese.

15. Third Baltic squadron (Admiral Nebogatoff) leaves Libau.

19. Japanese Army crosses the Ta.

23. Kawamura's army opens the battle of Moukden on the east.

24. Kuroki's army begins to operate on the centre.

26. Report of North Sea Inquiry Commission holds Russia financially responsible for damage to the British fishing fleet, but says Russia was justified in believing that the fleet was in danger.

27. Nodzu's army of the centre begins three days' cannonade of the Russian positions.

28. Oku's army of the west begins to advance. Kawamura's army occupies Machunton.

March

1. Nogi's army of the west enters Sinmintin.
2–6. Nodzu's army dislodges Russians from outworks south of the Shakhe.
5. Kuroki's army forces the left of the Russian intrenchments on the Shakhe.
6. Oku's progress checked by the Russians.
7. Kuropatkin orders a retreat.
8. Nogi cuts the railway north of Moukden.

JAPANESE OCCUPY MOUKDEN

10. Kawamura's army carries Fushun position. Japanese enter Moukden.
16. Japanese enter Tie Pass.
17 Kuropatkin is relieved of his command and succeeded by Linevitch.
Baltic fleet leaves Nossi Be.
19. Japanese occupy Kaiyaun.
20. Russia, having failed to raise a new loan in France, announces a new internal loan of $10,000,000.
Kuropatkin assumes command of First Army under Linevitch.
21. Japanese occupy Chang-Tu.
24. Admiral Nebogatoff at Port Said.
29. New Japanese 4½ per cent sterling loan of $50,000,000 placed in London and New York.

April

2. Japanese driven out of Ni-shin-kay, 33 miles northeast of Kaiyuan.
3–4. Russian force driven out of Tsulushu, 20 miles north of Chang-tu.
8. Baltic fleet sighted off Singapore.
12. Russian force defeated at Erhlohu by Japanese advancing on Hai-lung line.
12–14. Rojestvensky arrives in Kamranh Bay.
14. Japanese occupy Ying-Ching, east of Moukden.
15. Japanese occupy Tung-hwa, 50 miles east of Shingking.
18. Growing indignation in Japan at reported violations of French neutrality.
20. Japanese minister in Paris calls M. Delcasse's attention to the reported stay of Russian vessels in Kamranh Bay.

M. Delcasse tenders his resignation.

21. Statement by M. Rouvier that the French government meant to respect absolutely neutrality between the belligerents, and had given precise orders to all its agents in the Far East.

22. M. Delcasse's resignation withdrawn. Rojestvensky leaves Kamranh Bay.

24. Russian attack on Chang-tu and Kaiyuan repulsed. Rojestvensky returns to Kamranh Bay.

26. Rojestvensky again leaves Kamranh Bay.

27. Nebogatoff reported off Penang.

May

1. Japanese reach Tiao-yu-tai, 28 miles north of Tunghwa.

United States Government urges upon China the advisability of enforcing so far as possible the neutrality of Chinese harbors.

Russian fleet at Port Dayet, 40 miles north of Kamranh Bay.

2. Russian fleet reported at Honkohe Bay.

4. Japanese minister in Paris asks for explanation concerning news received by his government as to violation of neutrality in Indo-Chinese waters.

5. Four Russian torpedo boats burn a Japanese sailing vessel off Hokkaido.

Nebogatoff passes Singapore.

8. Publication of French semi-official note denying charges of breach of neutrality.

9. Rojestvensky leaves Honkohe Bay.

Nebogatoff off Cape St. James.

Two Russian cruisers sighted off Aomori, on the north coast of Nippon.

Russians repulsed at Ying-pien-mun.

12. Rojestvensky returns to Honkohe Bay.

13. Martial law proclaimed throughout Formosa.

14. The Baltic fleet leaves Honkohe Bay for the north.

15. The Japanese Government vetoes the export of coal to Indo-China.

17. Admiral Birileff appointed to the command of the naval forces in the Pacific.

18–25. Desultory fighting in Manchuria. Japanese successes.

WAR APPENDIX

Destruction of Baltic Fleet

27–28. Baltic fleet drawing up to Tsushima is sighted by the Japanese. Battle of the Sea of Japan begins at about 2 P.M. on May 27. On that day and the next Togo destroys the Baltic fleet, captures Rojestvensky and Nebogatoff. Eight thousand prisoners taken, and many killed or drowned.

June

5. British steamer *Ikhona* sunk by Russian cruiser *Terek*.
   British ship *St. Kilda* sunk by Russian cruiser *Dnieper*.
8. President Roosevelt sends identic despatch to Japanese and Russian Governments urging them to negotiate for peace.
9. Escaped Russian cruisers are interned at Manila.
10. Japan agrees to President Roosevelt's proposition to appoint peace envoys to meet similar agents of Russia.
12. Russia also accepts the proposal of the President.
    Russian fours rose in St. Petersburg on rumors of peace.
    China plans new navy, largely on Japanese advice.
    The President receives Russia's formal note, accepting peace plan.
14. Russian official statement on the reply to President Roosevelt gazetted in St. Petersburg.
    Witte gives pessimistic interview on peace, published in the Slovo.
    France orders Russian cruiser *Kulan* out of Indo-China waters.
15. Washington selected as place of the Peace Conference.
    President Roosevelt said to be trying to secure an armistice.
    Japan's official reply to President's note given out in Washington.
16. Britain makes strong protest to Russia against sinking of British commercial steamers.
    Japanese take Sumiencheng, but are driven out by the Russians.
19. Czar receives deputation from Moscow Zemstvo Congress, presenting very radical address; reply seems in harmony with demands.
    British ambassador at St. Petersburg asks payment for the St. Kilda, and prevention of further similar action.

Japanese minister informs President that Mikado's peace envoys can reach Washington early in August.

21. Stoessel's surrender of Port Arthur said to have been found justified by Russian commission.

Twenty-two killed, one hundred wounded by attack of Cossacks on Socialist procession in Lodz.

22. Governor of Moscow posts notices of mobilization.

23. Russian minister of interior repudiates liberal interpretation of czar's response to Zemstvo delegation.

One hundred and thirty killed in rioting at Lodz; great disorder for three days.

Declared in British House of Commons that Japan has not ordered foreigners to leave Port Arthur.

24. Russian admiral at Manila granted parole for his men and liberal terms for repairs.

26. Five hundred and sixty-one dead in Lodz revolts of preceding week.

Premier Balfour announces that Russian cruisers have been ordered to spare British shipping.

27. Crew of Russian Black Sea battleship mutiny and murder several officers.

Strike riots begin in Odessa.

28. Russia announces acceptance of first ten days in August for meeting of peace envoys.

Japanese warships reported off Vladivostock.

Mutiny of Russian sailors at Libau; riots in Odessa continue; crew of Kniaz Potemkin aids strikers.

Czar declares state of war in Odessa; Japanese political parties declare that any peace to be made must be lasting.

29. Said that Russia has ordered mobilization of over 100,000 men for immediate use in Far East.

30. Mutiny of sailors at Cronstadt.

July

1. Japanese right begins sharp attack east of railway in Manchuria.

Russian cruiser *Terck* interned at Batavia.

PEACE ENVOYS ANNOUNCED

2. President Roosevelt announces that Muravieff and Rosen will be Russian peace envoys, Komura and Takahira the Japanese.

3. Small mutiny at Cronstadt.
5. Mutineers on the Potemkin declare a rebellion.
6. Armistice refused by Japan until substance of her terms is accepted by Russia.

Japanese foreign loan of $150,000,000 4½ per cent 5–20 years placed: to issue at 90 — divided equally among Germany, England and America.

7. Baron Rosen, new Russian ambassador, reaches Washington.
8. Mutineers on Kniaz Potemkin surrender to Roumania as deserters; sink the warship at Kustenji.

Japanese envoys set sail for America. Tokio reports gradual advance to north by armies in Manchuria.

China appeals to Powers for share in peace conference.

Japanese land on island of Sakhalin.

9. Count Cassini leaves Washington, after seven years' service.
10. Portsmouth, N. H., Navy Yard agreed upon by Russia and Japan as scene of peace negotiations.
11. Kniaz Potemkin, with loyal crew, sails for Sebastopol.

Shuvaloff, prefect of Moscow police, assassinated.

12. Japanese loan heavily oversubscribed.
13. Sergius Witte appointed senior Russian peace envoy, in response to severe criticism of Muravieff.

Twenty-four leaders of Odessa riots hanged.

17. Witte gives out interview, to general effect that Russia will not accept humiliating terms of peace.
19. Zemstvo Congress meets in Moscow, in spite of police prohibition.
20. Japanese army under Hasegawa advancing through north Korea against Vladivostock.
21. China's identic note, that she will not recognize peace terms in which she is not consulted, received at Washington.

Mr. Witte arrives in Paris.

24. Japanese dislodge Russians from two positions south of Tumen River.

Czar and kaiser meet off Swedish coast.

Kastries, on Siberian mainland, seized by the Japanese.

25. Baron Komura, and rest of Japan's peace mission, arrive in New York.

Russian army said to be using part of Mongolia for military purposes.

Plan of Russian Assembly said to be more liberal than Bouligan scheme.

Japanese take Alexandrovsk, chief town of Sakhalin.

26. St. Petersburg marshals of nobility adopt Moscow Zemstvo programme of reforms.

27. Baron Komura informally received by the President.

Witte sails from Cherbourg.

28. Witte gives pessimistic interview, transmitted by wireless from his steamer; says Russia will be reasonable with regard to peace terms.

30. Czar declares that he will never conclude a "shameful peace."

Final surrender of Russians in Sakhalin.

Civil administration in Sakhalin decreed by Japanese.

31. Famine in great part of Russia announced as certain.

August

1. Reported that czar will decree an Assembly on August 12, birthday of the czarevitch.

2. Report that Witte is arranging a Russian loan through French and American bankers.

Bureau of Council of Ministers takes over consideration of Bouligan plan for Assembly.

3. Russian force south of Tumen River reported to be 22,000 strong.

4. Mr. Witte informally presented to the President at Oyster Bay.

President receives unofficial envoys from Korea, who ask protection for their country.

Two Englishmen fined for furnishing passports to Russian terrorists.

5. Russian and Japanese peace envoys formally received by the President at Oyster Bay, and presented to each other. The missions set sail for Portsmouth, N. H., the Japanese on the *Dolphin*, the Russians on the *Mayflower*, escorted by cruiser *Galveston*.

6. The *Dolphin*, with the Russian peace mission, puts in at Newport, R. I., and Mr. Witte goes to Boston by train; rest of mission remains on board, waiting, with the *Mayflower*, for fog to lift.

7. Mr. Witte spends day in Boston, going to Portsmouth at night. *Mayflower* and *Dolphin* sail from Newport.

Russia decides on issuance of $100,000,000 internal loan.

8. Peace envoys received by United States and New Hampshire authorities, and installed at Hotel Wentworth.

Russians reported fortifying mouth of the Amur River.

Japanese land at Imperator, on Siberian coast.

Peace Conference Opens

9. Peace missions meet at Portsmouth. Mr. Witte presents his credentials, but Baron Komura's are not at hand; he summarizes them verbally.

Czar approves remodelled scheme for popular assembly.

10. Credentials of peace plenipotentiaries formally exchanged and found satisfactory. Mr. Witte's powers said to be unlimited; Baron Komura's not so full.

Japanese envoys present to Russian mission a set of twelve conditions or principles essential to peace treaty.

Japanese warships sent to Kamchatka and Okhotsk.

12. Russian envoys make reply to Japanese terms; supposed to refuse indemnity and cession of Sakhalin.

Japanese, in reply, propose verbal discussion of conditions, one at a time.

14. Conference agrees upon Article I, supposed to provide for recognizing Japan's preponderance in Korea; Article II, providing for evacuation of Manchuria by both belligerents, mutual pledge to respect territorial integrity of China and maintain the "open door"; Article III, providing for the restoration of Chinese rule in Manchuria.

Mr. Witte receives delegation of Jewish bankers and others.

15. Conference agrees on Article IV, concerning Russian lease of the Liao-Tung; discusses and records views on Article V, the cession of Sakhalin, and lays it aside for later reference. Agree on Article VI.

Congress of peasants at Moscow passes resolutions demanding reforms.

16. Conference agrees on Articles VII and VIII, giving

Japan control of Chinese Eastern Railroad to near Harbin, leaving the rest to Russia.

17. Conference considers Article IX, indemnity, but reaches no agreement; Article X, on surrender of Russian warships interned in neutral ports, refused by Witte.

18. Article XI, limitation on Russia's naval power in Far East, produces disagreement; Article XII, on Russian Pacific fisheries, accepted unanimously.
Conference adjourns to August 22 at 3 P.M.

19. Czar issues manifesto decreeing establishment of representative popular assembly in Russia.

The Interned Russian Ships

The Russian naval ships interned in neutral ports are, one battleship, six cruisers, one gunboat, and eleven torpedo boat destroyers. They are:

Battleship

Czarevitch, 12,900 tons, interned in Kiao-Chow Bay.

Cruisers

Diana, 6,700 tons, interned at Saigon.
Askold, 5,900 tons, interned at Shanghai.
Aurora, 6,700 tons, interned at Manila.
Oleg, 6,600 tons, interned at Manila.
Zemtchug, 3,100 tons, interned at Manila.
Lena, 10,000, interned at San Francisco.

Gunboats

Mandjur, 1,200 tons, interned at Shanghai.

The eleven torpedo boat destroyers are interned at various Chinese ports.

The following table of casualties and captures during the war was prepared by the Tokio correspondent of the London *Times*. It is not entirely accurate, in some cases it being quite plain that he reached his total of Russian casualties by multiplying the numbers of dead the Japanese alleged they found on a field by the figure he had determined upon as the ratio of wounded to killed. But in spite of its bias the table gives facts that form a valuable addition to the chronological review:

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Table of Casualties

Name and date of battle	Japanese	Russian
Yalu, May 1	1,039	*2,398
Shisanlitai, May 16	146	**300
Nanshan, May 26	4,207	†3,370
Telisz, June 1	1,163	††9,270
Fenshwiling, June 27	171	‡450
Kaiping, July 8	153	(?)250
Motienling, July 17	299	**1,000
Kiaotao, July 19	423	**1,000
Tashichiao, July 25	1,077	**2,000
Tomuchung, July 31	860	§4,250
Yushulingtsz and Yangtszling, August 1	946	**2,000
Liao-Yang, September 4	17,613	**25,000
Shaho, September 14	15,879	69,201
Forty-six skirmishes	7,000	7,000
Skirmishes after Shaho	200	395
New Chwang, January 14	250	**500
Heikautai, January 26 to 29	8,000	**10,000
Skirmishes between Heikautai and Moukden battle	650	1,525
Moukden battle, February 19 to March 16	52,500	152,500
Changtu skirmishes, April 3 to June 22	100	**390
Fakumun skirmishes, April 3 to June 22	50	340
Kaiyuan skirmishes, April 3 to June 22	75	800
Yingeching skirmishes, April 3 to June 22	70	**600
Weiyuanpaumun, Changtu and Kanging, June 16	215	**240
Port Arthur	50,000	**20,000
Naval casualties	3,670	**6,000
Totals	166,756	320,779
Prisoners	646	67,701
Grand totals	167,402	388,480

* As reported by Kuropatkin.
** Minimum.
† The Japanese found 674 bodies.
†† The Japanese found 1,854 bodies.
‡ The Japanese found 90 bodies.
‡ The Japanese found 850 bodies.

WAR APPENDIX

Turning now to the question of material of war, the story of the Russian naval squadrons in Far Eastern waters since the war commenced may be shown as follows in tabular form:

RUSSIAN NAVY

Nature of Vessel	Engaged		Sunk		Captured		Interned		Remaining	
	No.	Displacement	No.	Displacement	No.	Displacement	No.	Displacement	No.	Displacement
Battleships	15	180,980	12	144,958	2	23,110	1	12,912	..	.....
Armored cruisers	7	63,533	5	38,979	.	.....	..	.....	2	24,554
Sea going coast defence ironclads	3	13,212	1	4,126	2	9,086	..	.....	..	.....
Cruisers	13	65,416	6	26,341	..	.....	5	29,115	2	9,960
Other kinds, excluding converted cruisers	21	76,793	14	25,222	1	11,700	2	11,449	*4	28,422
Destroyers	24	10,290	19	5,666	2	590	11	3,334	2	700
Totals	83	410,224	57	245,292	7	44,476	19	56,810	10	63,636

In this table torpedo boats, special service steamers, as well as converted cruisers, are not included, and the asterisk indicates that the number to which it is attached comprises some vessels whose fate is uncertain. Further, under the heading, "captured," only vessels taken in fight are shown, not those subsequently raised and added to the Japanese navy. The broad result is very striking; out of a total of 83 ships, with a displacement of 410,224 tons, sent by Russia into the war zone, only ten, with a displacement of 63,636 tons, remain in her fighting line. She has lost 73, representing 346,588 tons.

If a similar table is compiled for the Japanese navy the result is as follows:

JAPANESE NAVY

Nature of Vessel	Engaged		Sunk		Captured		Interned		Remaining	
	No.	Displacement	No.	Displacement	No.	Displacement	No.	Displacement	No.	Displacement
Battleships	6	86,299	2	27,757	..	.....	..	.....	4	58,452
Armored cruisers	8	74,178	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	8	74,178
Sea going coast defense cruisers	2	11,112	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	2	11,112
Cruisers	20	68,481	4	12,733	..	.....	..	.....	16	55,748
Other kinds	18	26,689	4	4,797	..	.....	..	.....	14	21,892
Destroyers	22	7,425	2	738	..	.....	..	.....	20	6,687
Totals	76	274,184	12	46,025	..	.....	..	.....	64	228,159

From this table, also, torpedo boats, special service steamers and converted cruisers are omitted. Comparison of the two tables shows several striking facts. The first is that the Japanese force of 76 vessels, with a displacement of 274,184 tons, has sunk or captured 64 ships, with a displacement of 289,778 tons. It is true that this includes the ships which the besiegers' guns at Port Arthur helped to disable, but, on the other hand, it was solely by the indefatigable exertions of the Japanese fleet that these ships were driven into Port Arthur and held prisoners there. Another important point is that, whereas the Japanese have lost 12 ships, with a total displacement of 46,025 tons, they have captured and added to their navy seven vessels representing 44,486 tons. Nor is this all. Already at Port Arthur the battle ship *Peresviet* (12,674 tons) and the armored cruiser *Bayan* (7,800 tons) have been raised, and at Chemulpo the protected cruiser *Variag* (6,500 tons). Other ships will also be raised, but even with the addition of these three the Japanese navy will emerge from the fight with a displacement 25,435 tons greater than it had when the war commenced, whereas the Russian navy has been virtually annihilated.

In order to make this comparison complete it is necessary to consider the captures of non-combatant ships made by the two navies. The record for the Japanese navy is this:

WAR APPENDIX

Prizes Made by the Japanese Navy

N.B. — When not described as a sailing ship, steamer is to be understood.

	Ship's Name and Nationality	Tonnage
1.	Ekaterinoslav, Russia	5,627
2.	Moukden, Russia	1,567
3.	Russia, Russia	2,312
4.	Argun, Russia	2,458
5.	Manjuria, Russia	6,193
6.	Alexander, Russia	261
7.	Resnick (sailing ship), Russia	87
8.	Nicolai, Russia	123
9.	Mikhael, Russia	3,461
10.	Kotic, Russia	400
11.	Juliade, Russia	?...
12.	Manchuria, Russia	2,937
13.	Bobrick (sailing ship), Russia	125
14.	Nadejuta, Russia	68
15.	Thalia, Russia	?..
16.	George, France	179
17.	Fuhping, Germany	1,393
18.	Veteran, Germany	1,199
19.	Nigretia, England	2,368
20.	King Arthur, England	1,416
21.	Rosalie, England	4,370
22.	Redington, England	4,421
23.	Wilhelmina, Holland	4,295
24.	Bawtry, England	2,407
25.	Oakley, England	3,798
26.	Burmah, Austria	3,071
27.	M. S. Dollar, America	4,216
28.	Wyefield, England	3,235
29.	Siam, Austria	3,160
30.	Palos, Germany	2,398
31.	Apollo, England	3,829
32.	Scotsman, England	1,677
33.	Silvania, England	4,187
34.	Powderham, England	3,019
35.	Severus, Germany	3,307
36.	Romulus, Germany	2,630
37.	Easby Abbey, England	2,963

	Ship's Name and Nationality	Tonnage
38.	Vegga, Sweden	2,562
39.	Venus, England	3,558
40.	Aphrodite, England	3,949
41.	Tacoma, America	2,812
42.	Harbarton, England	3,256
43.	Industrie, Germany	198
44.	Henry Blockow, Norway	1,006
45.	Quang Nam, France	1,431
	Total	107,929

	Ship's Name and Cargo	Date of Capture 1904
1.	Ekaterinoslav, arms and ammunition	Feb. 6
2.	Moukden, rice and provisions	" 6
3.	Russia, none	" 7
4.	Argun, various	" 7
5.	Manjuria, arms, rice, etc.	" 9
6.	Alexander, whale's flesh	" 10
7.	Resnick, salt	" 10
8.	Nicolai, Korean cash	" 10
9.	Nikhael, iron bars, etc	" 10
10.	Kotic, iron bars, etc.	" 10
11.	Juliade, none	" 17
12.	Manchuria, provisions	" 17
13.	Bobrick, none	" 17
14.	Nadejuta, none	" 17
15.	Thalia, none	Mar. 13
16.	George, none	Aug. 19
17.	Fuhping, arms and ammunition	Oct. 12
18.	Veteran, furs, leather, etc.	Nov. 19
19.	Nigretia, kerosene	Dec. 19
20.	King Arthur, none	" 19
		1905
21.	Rosalie, Cardiff coal	Jan. 11
22.	Redington, Cardiff coal	" 12
23.	Wilhelmina, Cardiff coal	" 16
24.	Bawtry, foodstuffs	" 17
25.	Oakley, Cardiff coal	" 18
26.	Burmah, Cardiff coal	" 25
27.	M. S. Dollar, forage	" 27
28.	Wyefield, various	" 30

	Ship's Name and Cargo	Date of Capture 1904
29.	Siam, Cardiff coal	Jan. 31
30.	Palos, shipbuilding materials and foodstuffs	Feb. 10
31.	Apollo, Cardiff coal	" 14
32.	Scotsman, rice	" 14
33.	Silvania, Cardiff coal	" 19
34.	Powderham, Cardiff coal	" 19
35.	Severus, Cardiff coal	" 23
36.	Romulus, Cardiff coal	" 25
37.	Easby Abbey, Cardiff coal	" 27
38.	Vegga, Cardiff coal	Mar. 3
39.	Venus, Cardiff coal	" 4
40.	Aphrodite, Cardiff coal	(?)
41.	Tacoma, Cardiff coal	" 14
42.	Harbarton, Cardiff coal	" 11
43.	Industrie, various	" 20
44.	Henry Blockow, Cardiff coal	Apr. 7
45.	Quang Nam, various	May 5

In addition to the above, eight steamers were captured, but were released on examination. It may also be noted that the hospital ship *Orel*, taken in the battle of the Sea of Japan, has been declared a prize of war, and that three steamers have been raised — namely, the *Sungari* at Chemulpo and the *Angara* and *Kazan* at Port Arthur. Thus far, therefore, there have been added to the Japanese mercantile marine 59 vessels with an aggregate displacement of over 110,000 tons.

The Russian List

The list of vessels captured or destroyed by the fleet follows:

Name and Kind of Vessel	Displacement	Date of Sinking 1904
Naga-no-ura Maru, steamer	1,084	Feb. 11
Hanyei Haru, steamer	75	Mar. 26
Goyo Maru, steamer	600	April 25
Hagino-ura Maru, steamer	600	" 25
Yamata Maru, sailing ship	198	June 16

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Name and Kind of Vessel	Displacement	Date of Sinking 1904
Ansei Maru, sailing ship	105	June 16
Seiyei Maru, sailing ship	? 100	" 16
Seisho Maru, sailing ship	122	" 30
Koun Maru, steamer	57	" 30
Kita Maru, sailing ship	140	July 19
Takashima Maru, steamer	318	" 20
Hokusei Maru, sailing ship	91	" 20
Fukuju Maru, sailing ship	121	" 24
Jizai Maru, sailing ship	199	" 24
Hakutsu Maru, sailing ship	91	" 24

Those 15 ships have an average of 234 tons, a figure sufficiently suggestive of the nature of the craft upon which the Russian cruisers preyed. The list must be supplemented by a number of little fishing boats, some driven by stress of weather upon Russian coasts, but all with one exception destroyed. There are 12 of these boats recorded, but others are believed to have shared their fate:

Name and place of Register	Fate
Chotoku Maru, Hakodate	Unknown
Ryozen Maru, Hakodate	"
Kaichi Maru, Noto	Burned
Kifuku Maru, Kaga	"
Sumiyoshi Maru, Hakodate	"
Chosho Maru, Tokio	"
Yeisho Maru, Tokio	"
Yeihu Maru, Tokio	"
Yeiju Maru, Tokio	"
Kaikei Maru, Totomi	"
Kwantsu Maru, Totomi	"
Kayetsu Maru, Hakodate	Captured

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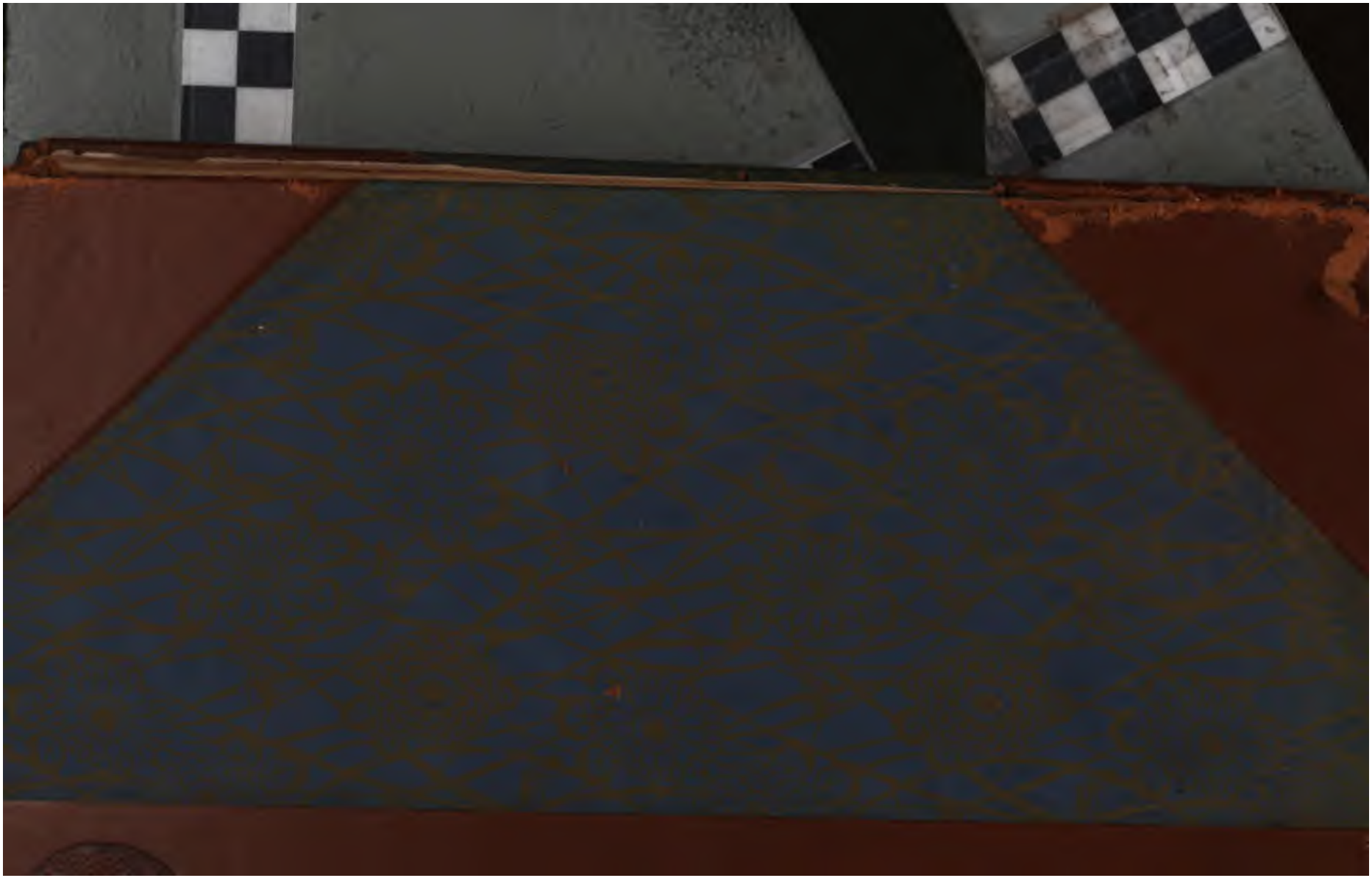
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